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THE  
NICHOLAS PAPERS.

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CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS,  
SECRETARY OF STATE.

EDITED BY  
GEORGE F. WARNER.

VOL. I. 1641—1652.



PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

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## P R E F A C E.

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THE collection of papers, a portion of which is here printed, was purchased for the British Museum in 1879, and is now contained in Egerton MSS. 2533-2562. In addition to the correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas (ob. 1669), Secretary of State, it includes that of his son, Sir John Nicholas (ob. 1704), Clerk to the Privy Council, and of his grandson, Edward Nicholas (ob. 1726), Treasurer to Queen Mary ; and it was formerly preserved at the family seat of West Horsley, co. Surrey, purchased by Sir Edward from Carew Raleigh in 1665. After the death of Sir John Nicholas each of his three sons, Edward, John, and William inherited the estate in turn, and the youngest, dying unmarried in 1749, devised it to Henry Weston, of Ockham, whose descendants have enjoyed it ever since.

The subsequent history of the Nicholas Papers is somewhat obscure. A rough schedule of them was drawn up by Edward Nicholas<sup>a</sup> in 1720-1723, and is now Egerton MS. 2562. Although apparently imperfect, it contains (as might be expected from the gaps in the present volume) a quantity of matter which no longer formed part of the collection when it was transferred from

<sup>a</sup> Brayley, *History of Surrey*, 1841, ii. p. 97, attributes it to William Nicholas, but the hand is undoubtedly that of his eldest brother.

West Horsley to the Museum. Among the missing letters is a valuable correspondence between Sir Edward Nicholas and Charles I. in 1641 and during the Civil War, together with other letters from Charles II. and various members of the royal family of later dates. These now belong to W. J. Evelyn, Esq., M.P., of Wotton, and have been well known since they were first printed by W. Bray at the end of his *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn* in 1818.<sup>a</sup> It appears, indeed, that before the end of 1750 the whole Nicholas collection had in some way passed into the hands of the then owner of Wotton, which lies a few miles only from West Horsley. The evidence of this is in the title of one of Dr. Thomas Birch's volumes of historical transcripts now in the Museum (Add. MS. 4180): "Extracts of the State Papers and Letters of S<sup>r</sup> Edward Nicholas . . . from the originals lately in the possession of his grandson William Nicholas, Esq., and now in that of S<sup>r</sup> John Evelyn, Bart." These extracts (which in many cases are merely lists) were made between 18 Dec. 1750 and 1 Feb. 1751, and they deal not only with the letters still at Wotton, but with the portion of the collection now at the Museum. It is probable therefore that Sir John Evelyn, after selecting what he considered most valuable, subsequently returned the bulk of the papers to their original home.

The greater part, however, of Dr. Birch's volume is derived from MSS. of Sir Edward Nicholas which, so far as I can ascertain, have disappeared altogether. Such is the case with an epitome of his life in his own hand, and a history of the Long Parliament, also apparently autograph. The former MS. was copied by Dr. Birch

<sup>a</sup> Bray supposed that they came to Wotton with the papers of Sir Richard Browne, John Evelyn's father-in-law. He died, however, as early as 1683, long after which date they were still at West Horsley.

in full, and is printed below, at the end of the Preface ; but of the latter, which consisted of no less than two hundred and eighty-five pages in folio, a few detached passages only were transcribed. Even more to be deplored is the loss of Nicholas's letter-books, three of which were at the service of Dr. Birch. He gives the title of one of them as follows,—“Copies of several of my letters to divers lords and others during my long exile for my loyalty, being dated from Feb. 165 $\frac{9}{10}$  to April 1653”; and the three together cover the period from 1648 to 1658. Unfortunately the extracts, though numerous, are seldom of any length ; but, as the letter-books themselves are not available, I have printed whatever appeared to be of interest,<sup>a</sup> unless the entire letters have already been published elsewhere from the originals. Many of the longest extracts are from letters of Nicholas to Sir Edward Hyde, being all that apparently survives of one side of an extremely valuable correspondence. It is curious that a very few only of the originals are preserved in the great collection of Clarendon State Papers in the Bodleian Library, which, on the other hand, does include a large number of Hyde's letters to Nicholas. The proper place of the latter is, of course, among the papers of the correspondent to whom they were addressed. Only three letters of Hyde, however, now remain in the Nicholas collection, and as none are mentioned by Dr. Birch it may be inferred that the rest were already detached from it when his extracts were made. Before they finally reached the Bodleian Library they were in the possession of William Man Godschall, Esq., of Albury, co. Surrey, who in 1782 sent them to the editor of the third volume of the *Clarendon State Papers*. The latter describes them (p. ii.) as

<sup>a</sup> All matter taken from Dr. Birch's MS. is distinguished by an asterisk in the margin.



“a regular series, scarcely broken by the loss of a single letter”; and they form a very important feature of his volume. The few extracts from Nicholas’s letters which accompany them in foot-notes were supplied by Lord Hardwicke (p. x.) and were no doubt taken from a transcript of Dr. Birch’s volume formerly in his possession, and now B.M. Add. MS. 31954.

But in spite of these and other serious losses the Nicholas Papers still make up a collection not easily to be edited within reasonable limits. A selection therefore being necessary, the appointment of Nicholas as acting Secretary of State in Aug. 1641 has been taken as a convenient starting-point, and the present volume extends from that date to the end of 1652. A good deal, however, has been omitted, as of little interest or already printed, or, in a few cases, for other reasons. Such, for example, are a long series of letters from Sir Thomas Roe in Germany in 1641-1642, which, having a distinct character of their own, seemed somewhat out of place, and papers relating to negotiations of Charles I. with the French Resident Montreuil in 1646, the unpublished portion of which is too insignificant in amount to be printed apart from the rest.

The employments of Nicholas before the volume opens are enumerated below in his own words. I need only therefore direct attention to his autobiography (p. xii.) and to the very curious “Memoranda in my course of life” which follow it. He belonged to the useful class of public servants who, entering official life at an early age, have risen to its highest grade by proved capacity for business and knowledge of affairs. The character given of him by Clarendon, though drawn by an intimate friend, is not undeserved: “Secretary Nicholas was a very honest and industrious man and always versed in business. . . . The king



called him to be Secretary of State, after Secretary Windebank fled the kingdom, upon his Majesty's own observation of his virtue and fidelity and without any other recommendation; and he was in truth throughout his whole life a person of very good reputation and of singular integrity" (*History*, ed. 1843, p. 371). His position in 1641, while Charles was in Scotland, must have been a difficult one. He had not as yet the authority of an actual minister, nor even a seat in Parliament, and that too at a time when the two Houses, as he wrote, were "full of jealousies and apprehensions" and the temper of parties required to be closely watched. How well he acquitted himself is best seen in his correspondence with Charles himself printed by Bray, with which the letters here naturally cannot compete in interest and value. Next to the King his chief correspondent was Sir Henry Vane, the Secretary of State in attendance; but the latter perhaps looked upon him as a rival, and their relations were not without a certain reserve. At the same time, as will be seen, they kept one another fairly well informed of the course of political events in the two capitals, and Vane's letters, supplemented by those of T. Webb and Endymion Porter, both shrewd observers who wrote their minds freely, convey a lively picture of the difficulties and perplexities of Charles in his efforts to conciliate the Scotch. His "infinite paynes" in business, in hearing sermons, and in singing "many psalmes accordinge to the mannor of the Scottish kirke," deserved better success; but a policy which, in Porter's phrase, alternated between "suttle designes of gaineing the popular opinion and weake executions for the upholdding of monarkie" (p. 40), was foredoomed to failure.

After 1641 the paucity of materials until the end of the Civil War

is remarkable, but scarcely more so in the present volume than in that of Dr. Birch. A highly curious paper has, however, survived in the autograph instructions of Charles for the impeachment of the Five Members (p. 62); and the letters of Lord Digby in 1645 (p. 64) are a useful addition to the King's of about the same date, which were printed by Bray. The private letters of Nicholas's father and brother (pp. 62, 67) belong to a different class, and vividly illustrate the sufferings of those whom their enemies were "pleased to terme delinquentes." The old country squire "plundred thrice in one weeke," and the Dean of Bristol's wife, whose maid was to be seen "in the market sellinge of rosemary and bayes to buy bread," might well cry, "God, for his mercy, help us and send us peace!" Later on we find Nicholas himself in want (p. 70), and told for his comfort by Endymion Porter that "it is all our cases." This was after the surrender of Oxford in 1646, when Charles was a prisoner and Nicholas an exile at Caen. Porter, though living on the charity of an Irish barber, and without clothes in which to attend Henrietta Maria's Court at the Louvre, could still write sensibly and well, and keep up his spirits with epigrams on the "lowsie Scotts." From the beginning of 1647 the correspondence increases in variety of interest. Oudart's news-letters from London, scarcely legible in the faint medium by which their contents were concealed, are full of information; and from the side of Paris a new and lively writer appears on the scene in 1648 in the person of Lord Hatton. His long letter of 29 Aug. (partly taken up with a graphic account of the famous *Journée des Barricades*) is the first of a series in which the intrigues of the Court at the Louvre and the iniquities of the Queen's favourite,

Lord Jermyn, are the leading topics. Although it would be too much to follow his guidance implicitly,<sup>a</sup> the opinion he forcibly expresses of some of the leading Royalists is amply warranted, and is echoed in much the same terms by his more experienced correspondent.

To discuss here in detail the shifting phases of Royalist policy is impossible. Even before the death of Charles I., many affecting references to which occur in the volume, Nicholas had practically ceased to influence it, and afterwards the "hot brains," as he terms them, were still more in the ascendant. "You cannot imagine," writes Hyde on 6 Apr. 1649, "the care hath bene taken to infuse prejudice into the King of all his fathers counsell"; and Nicholas was too obnoxious to the ruling party to be made an exception. He joined Charles II. indeed at Jersey in October, where he did his best as a Privy Councillor to support the interests of Ormonde and Montrose (p. 160); and he was even promised his former place of Secretary of State.<sup>b</sup> The promise, however, was coupled with the obligation to conceal it, "because of some engage-

<sup>a</sup> Hyde cautions Nicholas against him, 27 Jan. 165½, "Remember how many mistakes your intelligencer (who is still my noble friend) hath been always subject to, and the vexation that must still attend believing all that he says. All the discontented persons and the humorous resort to him, and from those he gathers what he writes, and is it like that can be all ingenuous?" (*Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 44). He mentions him again 17 May, 1652, "Till the receipt of yours I knew not that Lord Hatton discontinued writing to you. The intelligence is ill lost. These late alarms frightened him so that he removed from his house and brought all his books and fiddles to a lodging near us, where I visited him the other day. He is still my noble friend, but I have not the honour to see him often; but he lies as well as ever" (*ibid.* p. 70). The last words refer to Hatton's comfortable quarters, not to his want of veracity.

<sup>b</sup> Nicholas's memorial and the King's engagement are in Bray's *Evelyn*, iv. p. 94.

ment, I believe, to the Queen" (p. 149, note<sup>a</sup>), and was not formally carried into effect until 1654; and, although Charles renewed it when he went to Scotland in 1650, "he hath left," Nicholas complains (p. 188), "no business to my care nor any means to enable me to live." This was the less to be wondered at as Nicholas was the leading opponent of the Scotch expedition and of the King's previous concessions to the Commissioners of the Estates and Kirk. His own part in the negotiations at Breda was limited to the first day's debate, after which he and Lord Hopton were promptly "set aside." Himself a staunch supporter of Episcopacy, he thoroughly distrusted Argyll and his allies, going so far (p. 194) as to suspect them of a design to get both Charles and the Duke of York into their hands that they might "have a good prize from the rebels of England" for the two together and so make an end of the family. That the King's sincerity was, to say the least, equally open to suspicion is clear from his significant letter to Lord Beauchamp (p. 180).

While Charles was chafing under the Covenant in Scotland, Nicholas resided chiefly at the Hague. Notwithstanding his complaint quoted above, he was addressed and acted as Secretary of State, and carried on a large correspondence on his own account besides.<sup>a</sup> Only a very few, however, of the letters written to him at this period will be found in the volume, the single letter which, as he declares, was all that he received from the King or any about him for nearly a year (p. 233) not being one of them.<sup>b</sup> Among others, besides Lord Hatton's, deserving particular notice are those of Sir G. Carteret, on Lord Jermyn's proceedings in

<sup>a</sup> His activity in this respect may be seen from a daily list of the persons to whom he wrote during 1650-1655, and 1660-1668 (Egert. MS. 2556).

<sup>b</sup> He no doubt means Charles's letter of 3 Sept. 1650 (Bray's *Evelyn*, iv. p. 194).



Jersey (p. 258), and of the Bishop of Down, describing Blake's capture of Scilly (pp. 250, 255). Of Lord Ormonde's letters only those are given which are not printed in Carte's *Ormonde Papers*, including a pathetic complaint of the perversity of the Irish people (p. 215), written on his departure from Ireland, and couched in terms which some recent Lords Lieutenant might appropriately have adopted. As to Nicholas's own letters, their tone is uniformly that of weariness and disgust, turning to despair when the Royalist cause was seemingly annihilated at Worcester. Like Hopton and others, he then thought seriously of compounding for his estate and submitting to the expected clemency of "Cromwell and his masters," and an appeal for advice in the matter gave occasion for an admirable letter from Ormonde (p. 276). It must have been some satisfaction to Nicholas that one of the first acts of Charles after he had effected his escape to France was to summon him, with Hyde, to Paris. Whether poverty and ill-health<sup>a</sup> were the real and only, as they were the ostensible, causes that hindered his going may be doubted, but, as a matter of fact, he did not leave the Hague until July, 1654. This was so far a fortunate circumstance that we owe to it the continuance of his correspondence with Hyde and other of his friends who were at Paris with Charles.

<sup>a</sup> In Egerton MS. 2558, f. 15, are some rough notes of a cold water cure which he successfully adopted at this time. They begin "This  $\frac{1}{3}$  of Dec. att y<sup>e</sup> Hague, 1651, I, being above y<sup>e</sup> age of 58 yeares, did begin to use the putting my head into a payle of spring or pump water y<sup>e</sup> coldest I could get, being then troubled with a great heavines in my head and eyes, and soe great a chillines in my head as I could not endure y<sup>e</sup> ayre with a dubble lined capp. I was alsoe often troubled with a deafnes and noyse in my right eare caused by y<sup>e</sup> cold I tooke in my head."

The latter for his own part appears to have borne his absence with equanimity. Writing to Hyde on 11 Jan. 1652 (p. 283), Nicholas expresses his belief that after all "his Majesty is well pleased that I forbore to come . . . being I am so very unacceptable to the Queen," and more than once afterwards he breaks out into bitter reflections on his subservience to his mother. Unfortunately throughout 1652 the correspondence here is entirely from Nicholas's side. There is abundant interest, however, even in the detached sentences extracted from his letters by Dr. Birch. Among the various subjects he touches upon are the breach between the English and Dutch ("these dull butterboxes," he calls them), the charges of treason brought against the Secretary Robert Long, the expulsion of Thomas Hobbes from Court as an atheist, the extraordinary proposition of John Lilburne for the King's restoration, and the controversy of Salmasius with "that arch traytor and declared enemy to monarchy, Milton." Writing to his intimate friends he is free in his strictures on personal character, nor are his judgments often so mildly expressed as when he qualifies his praise of the Princess Royal by imputing to her "the naturall imperfection of her family, an unwillingness to put herself to think of business" (p. 293), or dismisses the Duke of Buckingham with the remark, "but indeed he hath wit enough, but I doubt he wants ballast" (p. 287). For those who credit Nicholas himself with one of the highest and least exceptionable characters among the more prominent members of the Royalist party, it must be painful to read his scarcely-veiled suggestions for the murder of the Parliamentary Envoys Dorislaus and Ascham which are quoted on pp. 135 (note), 172.

With regard to the materials which still await publication, it is

enough to say at present that from the end of 1653 the original correspondence largely increases in bulk, the letters of 1655 in particular filling a volume of more than six hundred leaves; and, as Nicholas was then formally reinstalled as Secretary of State and the centre of Royalist policy and intrigue, there is no reason to apprehend any diminution of interest.

G. F. W.

8 Sept. 1886.

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ERRATA.

P. 59, note <sup>a</sup>. For "wa" read "was."

P. 68, note <sup>b</sup>. Add "A John Dirdo, gent., was, however, buried at East Knoyle, co. Wilts, in 1694 (Hoare, *Wilts*, Mere Hundred, p. 184)."

P. 167. For "Breda,  $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{3}$  Jan. 1649 [50]" read "Breda,  $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{4}$  Junij, 1649." The proper place of the letter is on p. 137.

P. 243, line 10. For "Taafe" read "Taaffe."

P. 299, note <sup>a</sup>. For "Francis" read "Frances."

## APPENDIX TO PREFACE.

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\* MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS . . . . WRITTEN BY  
HIMSELF AND TRANSCRIBED [BY DR. THOMAS BIRCH] FROM THE  
ORIGINAL MS.

I was born at Winterborne Earls on Tuesday, 4th of April, 1593.<sup>a</sup> Until I was about 10 years old I was bred in my fathers house at Winterborne Earls under several schoolmasters (whereof Mr. Williams was the last) by my father kept in his house. My school-fellows there were my cosin Edw. St. Low, Mr William St. Barbe, Mr Wm. Appleford and Mr Richard Morley.

When I was about 10 years old, I and my brother Matthew were sent to the Grammar School in the Close of Sarum, my father then being in that city.

When I was about 12 years old my brother and I went to school in S<sup>r</sup> Laurence Hydes<sup>b</sup> house in Sarum, my father then dwelling in the Deanery of Sarum. Our school-fellows there were Mr Laurence Hyde, S<sup>r</sup> Robert Hyde, late Lord Chief Justice of

<sup>a</sup> He was the eldest son of John Nicholas, of Winterbourne Earls, co. Wilts, who married Susan, daughter of William Hunton, of Knoyle. Their second son, Matthew Nicholas, was born 26 Sept. 1594. He was made Dean of Bristol in 1639, and of St. Paul's in 1660, and died 16 Aug. 1661.

<sup>b</sup> Attorney General to Queen Anne of Denmark. He was second son of Laurence Hyde, of West Hatch, co. Wilts, Robert Hyde, of West Hatch, mentioned below, being the eldest son, and Henry Hyde, father of the first Earl of Clarendon, the youngest.



the King's Bench, Mr Wm. Francis,<sup>a</sup> and Mr Alex. Hyde, now Bp. of Sarum, Mr Robert and Mr Hampden Hyde, sons of Mr Robert Hyde, of Hatch.

There my brother and I continued at school untill I was somewhat above 14 years of age, when we (he being about a year and a half younger than myself) were sent to Winchester school, where we had commons. I had not been there little more than half a year before I fell desperately sick of a pleurisy and a violent fever, which caused my parents to send for me home, where I continued very ill and weak above three quarters of a year. This was in the year when the great frost was, 1608.

After I was well recovered, I was sent to school to my uncle Ri. Hunters,<sup>b</sup> at Bashton, who kept a schoolmaster in his house called Mr Badcock, who was afterwards schoolmaster at Lavington.

My brother Matt. continued at Winchester, where he was elected a scholar of the House. When I was about 19 years old, I went to London, anno 1612, and was then entered in the Middle Temple; and, as soon as I was admitted of the Temple, I was sent to Oxford, where I was a commoner in Queens College, and continued there above a year and half.

Then I came back to the Temple, and was a student there untill I was above 21 years old, and then, about Allhallows Tide, anno 1615, I was sent into France, where I remained till midsummer 1616.

<sup>a</sup> Possibly there is a misreading here, and William Hyde is meant, who was third son of Sir Laurence Hyde, Alexander Hyde being the fourth. As the latter was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury 31 Dec. 1665, and died 22 Aug. 1667, the autobiography must have been written between these dates. Sir Robert Hyde, Chief Justice, died 1 May, 1665.

<sup>b</sup> A misreading probably for "Hunttons" (see p. xii. note <sup>a</sup>).

Then I came home and was secretary to S<sup>r</sup> John Dacombe, Chancellor of the Duchy, till the year 1617, when he died; and then I went back to the Temple and was there a student till December 1618; and then I was received secretary to Edward, the last Lord Zouch, who was Lord Warden, Chancellor, and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, and one of His Majestys Privy Council, a grave and wise counsellor, and continued with him untill the year 1624, when he resigned up his office to Geo. D. of Buckingham, Lord High Admiral of England; and then upon his, the Lord Zouchs recommendation, I was received by the D. of Buck. to be his Graces secretary for the business of the Cinque Ports and came to his Grace the 9th of December 1624. And when his Grace received me he willed me to inform myself in business of the office of High Admiral of England, for that he intended, when he should prefer M<sup>r</sup> Tho. Aylesbury, his then secretary for that office, to make use of me therein, and did often command me (even in M<sup>r</sup> Aylesburys time) to dispatch many things belonging to the office of High Admiral when M<sup>r</sup> Aylesbury was absent, and always made me to wait on his Grace when the Court was out of town, to dispatch the business of the Admiralty, M<sup>r</sup> Aylesbury being by him commanded to reside in London about the same affairs, the war being then entering into between England and Spain.

In the year about July 1625 (S<sup>r</sup> Albertus Morton, one of His Majestys principal Secretaries of State, dying at Southampton), K. Charles I. being then in the New Forest, my Lord Duke procured S<sup>r</sup> John Coke, M<sup>r</sup> of Requests, to be Principal Secretary in his place and M<sup>r</sup> Aylesbury to be Master of Requests in his place. And at Plimouth in September following, S<sup>r</sup> John Coke having the signet given him and being then sworn Principal Secretary, S<sup>r</sup>

Tho. Aylesbury was then also sworn Master of Requests. And then his Grace of his own motion made me his Secretary for the Admiralty in S<sup>r</sup> Tho. Aylesburys place and then demanded of me why I did not move him for that employment? I told him I relied on his promise to me when I first came into his service and did not doubt of the performance of it, if his Grace upon the experience he then had of my service and integrity should conceive me capable of it; when his Grace with many gracious expressions of his esteem of my diligence and abilities made me his Secretary for the Admiralty as well as for the business of the Cinque Ports, and said he would allow me the same entertainment he gave my predecessor S<sup>r</sup> Tho. Aylesbury.

Afterwards, about the year 1626, his Grace moved His Majesty that I might be admitted one of the Clerks of the Council in Extraordinary and that I might by His Majestys especial order be permitted to attend in Council at all times, which none of the Clerks of the Council in Extraordinary do without special order. And I was accordingly then sworn and admitted, that I might on all occasions be ready to give account and receive orders concerning Admiralty affairs.

In the year 1628 my Lord the D. of Buck., a little before he was murdered, procured for me of the K. the reversion of the office of Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper in Ireland in recompense of my service done His Majesty and himself in the time of his Graces being at the Isle of Rhee in France the year before.

In the year 1628, presently after the murder of my L<sup>d</sup> Duke of Buck., K. Ch. I. having put the office of Lord High Admiral into a commission, was pleased of his own gracious motion to constitute me by warrant under his hand Secretary for the Admiralty to attend

the Lords of the Council whom he had appointed Commiss<sup>rs</sup> for the Admiralty, and so I continued untill the Earl of Northumberland was made Lord High Admiral of England.

In the year 1635 his said Majesty advanced me to be Clerk of the Council in Ordinary in place of M<sup>r</sup> Will. Trumbull deceased, which His Majesty did of his own gracious goodness without any motion from me or any friend of mine, notwithstanding the impertunity used by other Clerks of the Council Extraordinary my seniors, His Majesty saying that to be Clerk of the Council in Extraordinary was no title or pretence to be made in Ordinary, those places being never granted in reversion to any.

In the year 1641, in August, His Majesty sent for me, I being then at my house in Thorpe, and gave the custody of the signet to me, M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Windebanke having in December before resign'd and delivered the signet to His Majesty, being privately gone out of the kingdom into France upon the displeasure of the Parliament for his too much favouring of Papists. And when His Majesty delivered me the signet, he being within few days [to] go into Scotland, His Majesty told me he intended at his return to make me one of His Principal Secretaries of State, and in the mean time he commanded me to hold correspondence with His Majesty and S<sup>r</sup> H. Vane, then the only Secretary of State, and to execute the place of Secretary of State and to seal with the signet as Secretary of State.

The 19<sup>th</sup> of Novemb.<sup>a</sup> 1641, upon His Majestys return from Scotland, His Majesty was pleased to command me to be sworn Principal Secretary of State and one of His Privy Council and

<sup>a</sup> In Nicholas's memoranda below (p. xviii.) the date is correctly given as 29th Nov.

caused my Patent to be passed for that office, which was done accordingly.

I executed that place under His Majesty during all the Rebellion untill the year 1646, when Oxford was delivered and His Majesty had put himself into the hands of the Scots much against my humble advice; and I continued His Majestys Principal Secretary of State till his death, notwithstanding that I was by his rebellious Parliament exiled for my loyalty and had all my estate taken from me.

In the year 1654 His Majesty K. Ch. II. at Achen or Aquisgrane in Germany commanded me to be sworn his Principal Secretary of State and of his Privy Council, and gave me his Privy Signet and Letters Patents for the said office, and I continued in execution of that great office untill the 15th of Octob. 1662, when, being about 70 years old, His Majesty was pleased to ease me of the same in a most gracious manner, giving me of his mere bounty a large recompense far above my expectation and continuing me the honour of being still one of His most honorable Privy Council, and using me always most graciously upon all occasions and offered to make me a Baron of England, which I conceiving to be an honour that my small estate could not well bear, I humbly and thankfully declined, but continued my service to His Majesty ever afterwards as one of His Majestys Privy Council.



MEMORANDA IN MY COURSE OF LIFE.<sup>a</sup>

What hapned to me when I was in France by Mons<sup>r</sup> de la Ferre.

When I was secretarie to Lo. Zouch I was the first to come in after the archbishop Abbott had shot the keeper in Bramshill<sup>b</sup> parke. I went to serve Lo. Zouch when the blazing starr was, which was in November 1618.

I came to serve the D. of B[uckingham] y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> of Dec. 1624, at Cambridge. The 27 of March after, when I wayted on my Lo. at the backe stayres, I saw him and the S[wee]t Prince, afterwards K. Charles, come forth of the bed-chamber, when he made Jo. Bakour, whoe was his Graces barber, eate a great peece of the plaster that he had applyed to K. James for cure of the ague.<sup>c</sup>

His Graces passion of sorrow for the death of K. James.

That the D. told me he had on his knee desired K. Ch. his leave to retire to a country lief and from all busines, but could not obteyne it. The D. obteyned of K. Ch. for me after he came from Retz the reuercion of the office of Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper in Irland after old Sir Rich. King, which afterwards I sold to . . . Carlton for 1060<sup>l</sup> in red dy money.

The D. gave me by his will 500<sup>l</sup> which was paid me.

That M<sup>r</sup> Rich Hopton, stewart to the D. of B. dying, the D. sent

<sup>a</sup> These notes are roughly written on a single sheet of paper (Egert. MS. 3558, f. 19), partly in shorthand. The passages omitted, relating to his successive appointments, are substantially incorporated into the preceding autobiography.

<sup>b</sup> Lord Zouche's seat in Hampshire. The accident occurred on 24 July, 1621.

<sup>c</sup> This is recorded in answer to the charges of poisoning the King which were brought against Buckingham and afterwards revived against Charles himself (p. 80, below). See Fuller, *Church History*, v. p. 568.

me with a noble message to him. He then made me one of his executors and gave me 100<sup>l</sup> legacy.

What Lo. Treasurer Weston said of me to D. B. after his returne from the isle of Retz, that he saw noe light in any busines that concerned his Grace but by my papers.

How the E. Marborow fell out with me for telling the K. y<sup>e</sup> truth why the ships went not with succors to my lord D. His complaint against me to the Dutchess of B.

\* \* \* \* \*

That [I] had the busines of the shipping appointed to my care by the K. and that I found that all that money was entirely bestowed in the busines of the navy and shipping, and at least 30000<sup>l</sup> per annum more out of the K's owne revenue.

\* \* \* \* \*

The K. would have had me alsoe Mr of the Wards, for which I have his warrant under his hand, but I declined it, as too envious a thing for me at that tyme to hold 2 such places together.

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CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

---

SIR HENRY VANE<sup>a</sup> TO E. NICHOLAS.<sup>b</sup>

SIR,

His Majestie hath commanded mee to lett you know y<sup>t</sup> it is his pleasure y<sup>t</sup> you attende him tomorrow att his risinge. Hee hath declared unto mee y<sup>t</sup> he purposes to leave you heare to coresponde with mee for his affayres now in his absence, y<sup>t</sup> the signet which was Sir Fra: Windebanks hee will leave with you, which I hope will very shortly bringe you to bee my fellow secretary, of which I told you longe since my opinion ; and soe I give you the *parabién*, myselfe beinge to begin my journey this eveninge towards the North, ever restinge

Your affectionate friend to his power,

H. VANE.

Whitehall, this 6 of August, 1641.

*Addressed* :—To my woorthy friend Mr. Edward Neclas,  
clarke of his Majesties counsel.

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<sup>a</sup> Secretary of State and Treasurer of the Household. Since Windebank's flight to France at the beginning of December 1640 he had been without a colleague in the Secretaryship. He is usually spoken of by Nicholas as "Mr. Threasurer."

<sup>b</sup> The letters throughout are addressed to Nicholas unless it is otherwise stated.

## E. NICHOLAS TO SIR H. VANE.

R<sup>t</sup> Ho<sup>ble</sup>

. . . According as your honour did advertise me, the king hath delivered to me the Signet which Mr. Secretary Windebanke left,<sup>a</sup> and hath given me order to correspond with your honour for his Majesties affaires, wherein I shalbe redy to observe your directions for his Majesties service. I have received a dispatch from Ireland directed to your honour, which I carried to His Majestie, who brake open 3 packets, all which were from the Lords Justices and Councell there, the one concerning a petition proffered in Parliament here by one Hen: Steward and others against the Councell there, complayning of a sentence given in the Castle Chamber there for his contempt in refusing to take the oath prescribed by an act of State and a proclamation to be taken by all Scotsmen<sup>b</sup>; the 2d is concerning the stay of y<sup>e</sup> soldiours which were there rayased to be transported for Spayne, and y<sup>e</sup> 3rd is touching an Act for repealing of certeyne statutes concerning y<sup>e</sup> exportacion of y<sup>e</sup> Native commodities of that kingdome; all which dispatches his Majestie hath referred to y<sup>e</sup> consideracion of the Lords of the Councell here. Yesterday there were sworne of the p[rivy] counsell the Earl of Bath,<sup>c</sup> Lord Dunsmore<sup>d</sup> and Lord Trou-

<sup>a</sup> The original warrant, with instructions, signed by Charles, is in Eg. MS. 2541, f. 264. It is printed in Hoare's *Wills*, Alderbury Hundred, p. 89.

<sup>b</sup> The imposition of this oath against the covenant, &c. was made the ground of art. 19 of Strafford's impeachment (Rushworth, viii. p. 489), according to which Hen. Steward and his wife were fined £5,000 each and his two daughters £3,000 each, with imprisonment for default. In the letter, however, to which Nicholas refers (Eg. MS. 2533, f. 113b) the amounts are stated to have been £3,000 and £2,000 respectively. Compensation was ultimately made out of delinquents' estates. (*Commons' Journals*, iv. p. 630.)

<sup>c</sup> Henry Bouchier, succ. as 5th Earl in 1636.

<sup>d</sup> Sir Francis Leigh, 1st Bart., cr. Baron Dunsmore in 1628, and Earl of Chichester in 1644.

bridge,<sup>a</sup> and the King hath left a commission authorizing the Lord Keeper,<sup>b</sup> L[ord] P[rivy] S[eal],<sup>c</sup> etc., or one of them, to give his royall assent to Acts of Parliament of severall sortes, most of them of a publique nature. . . .

Whitehall, 8<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641.

*Draft.*

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THE SAME TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.<sup>d</sup>

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

His Majestie was not this day gonne out of sight before Mr. Solicitor<sup>e</sup> came with a message to his Majestie from the house of Commons signifying that they were resolved this day to passe the act of Tonnage and Poundage, wherewith Sir W<sup>m</sup> Balletyne,<sup>f</sup> being then reddey to take horse, was desired to acquaint his Majestie. By this dispatch from my lord Saye<sup>g</sup> your Grace I believe may understand the particulers of that busines.

They have bene as good as their promisse and have now passed it till y<sup>e</sup> first December next, but will not yeelde that His Majesties Royall assent shalbe passed to that Act by vertue of the Commission left by His Majestie; and therefore my Lord Keeper hath sent a Commission here inclosed for his Majesties hand for passing that act. Your Grace may be pleased to desire his Majestie to signe it

<sup>a</sup> Francis Seymour, 2nd son of the Earl of Hertford, cr. Baron Seymour of Trowbridge, 19 Feb. 1641.

<sup>b</sup> Edward Lyttelton, cr. Baron Lyttelton of Mounslow, 18 Feb. 1641; made Lord Keeper on the impeachment and flight of Lord Finch, 18 Jan. 1641, having previously been Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

<sup>c</sup> Henry Montagu, cr. Earl of Manchester in 1626; Lord Privy Seal since 1627.

<sup>d</sup> James Stuart, 4th Duke of Lenox, cr. Duke of Richmond two days before, 8 Aug. 1641.

<sup>e</sup> Oliver St. John, appointed 29 Jan. 1641.

<sup>f</sup> Sir William Bellenden, of Broughton, cr. Baron Bellenden in 1661.

<sup>g</sup> William Fiennes, Viscount Saye and Sele.

att the top and on the back of it that it may passe by immediate warrant, and to returne it to me.

The House of Commons have appointed Sir Ph. Stapleton,<sup>a</sup> Sir Wm. Ermyn,<sup>b</sup> Sir Jo. Clatworthy,<sup>c</sup> and Mr. Jo. Hampden to joyne with 2 of the members of the Upper House to goe as Commissioners or rather Committees into Scotland to see the performance of the Act of Pacificacion by the Parliament there. Your Grace wilbe pleased to pardon my boldness in addressing this packet to you in the absence of Mr. Secretary, and to make my excuse to his Majestie if I have not soe fully in all particulars concerning the P[arliament] businesse satisfied His Majestie, being constrayned to take upp all my intelligence concerning Parliament affaires upon trust and such report from others as I can peeke upp amongst my acquaintances.<sup>d</sup> I beseech God to send his Majestie and your Grace a safe journey and a happy returne. . . .

Westminster, 10<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641, att ten a clock at nyght.

*Draft.*<sup>e</sup>

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#### THE SAME TO SIR H. VANE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

The Lords of y<sup>e</sup> Councell (upon consideracion of y<sup>e</sup> letter sent to your Honour from y<sup>e</sup> Lords Justices of Ireland that y<sup>e</sup> Act for repeale of certaine Statutes concerning y<sup>e</sup> exportacion of y<sup>e</sup> native

<sup>a</sup> M.P. for Boroughbridge, co. York.

<sup>b</sup> Sir William Armyn, or Armyne, of Osgodby, cr. Bart. in 1619, M.P. for Grantham, co. Linc.

<sup>c</sup> Sir John Clotworthy, M.P. for Maldon, co. Essex.

<sup>d</sup> It is evident from this that Nicholas had no seat in the Long Parliament. Both Carlyle (*Cromwell*, ed. 1871, iii. p. 256) and Prof. Masson (*Life of Milton*, ii. p. 159) enter his name as Member for Newtown, co. Hants, confounding him apparently with Nicholas Weston (see the Blue Book, *Members of Parliament*, 1878, p. 493, note 8). The "Mr. Nicholas" whose name occurs in the *Journals* is Anthony Nichols, M.P. for Bodmin, or Robert Nichols, M.P. for Devizes.

<sup>e</sup> This and most of the other draft letters of Nicholas are partly in shorthand.

commodities of that kingdome might bee transmitted) have given order that an answer shalbee sent them by mee, that assoone as y<sup>e</sup> Parliament there shall have settled the Kings Revenewe in that kingdome, the said act of Repeale shalbee sent over to bee passed there. And as concerning the Souldiours to be carried over for y<sup>e</sup> service of the King of Spaine, answer was sent by Sir Phillip Mainwaring (by his Majesties commands) that onely 4000 of them shalbee transported; and soe much was (as I heare) agreed upon by the Parliament here, with whome advice was taken about that businesse before his Majesties departure. I have herewith sent your Honour the copy of a minute of letters sent by the Boord to all y<sup>e</sup> Judges of Assize to notify throughout their circuits his Majesties greate grace and goodnesse to his people in passing soe many Acts (whereof a List is also sent in y<sup>e</sup> letters) for y<sup>e</sup> good and reliefe of the subject. In y<sup>e</sup> same letters to y<sup>e</sup> Judges of Assize there is also order given to them to take a course to punish wandring Souldiours and to suppress disorders, as you will perceave by y<sup>e</sup> copy. The Queene Mother<sup>a</sup> begins her journey too morrowe to Greenwich, from thence the next night to Cobham and soe towards y<sup>e</sup> seaside, if shee bee able to undergoe y<sup>e</sup> journey, having been lately much indisposed in her health. I am sure your Honour hath better and more certaine advertisement of y<sup>e</sup> proceedings here in Parliament then I (who am a meere stranger to y<sup>e</sup> same) can give you upon the best intelligence I can gather up amongst my small acquaintance. Sir Edward Bayntun<sup>b</sup> and Mr. Rogers<sup>c</sup> of Dorsetshire (who married Mrs. Cheeke) were this

<sup>a</sup> Mary de' Medici, mother of Queen Henrietta Maria. She had lived in England since Oct. 1638, but being now "moved to depart the kingdom," retired to Cologne, where she died 3 July, 1642.

<sup>b</sup> Of Bromham, co. Wilts, M.P. for Chippenham. He did not die until 1657.

<sup>c</sup> Richard Rogers, of Brianston, co. Dorset (Hutchins, *Dorset*, i. p. 250), and M.P. for the same county. His wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Cheke, Knt., by his second wife, Essex, dau. of Robert Rich, 1st Earl of Warwick. She afterwards married her cousin Robert, 3rd Earl of Warwick (Morant, *Essex*, i. p. 61).



morning in y<sup>e</sup> feild in a duell, where it was Mr. Rogers fortune to give Sir Edward Bayntun soe dangerous an hurt in his body that it was reported hee was dead, but I heare for certaine hee is yet alive and that there is hope of his recovery. Thē Lords of y<sup>e</sup> Councell have appointed to meet constantly once a weeke, but I perceave that most of them prepare to goe out of towne after a fewē daies and to leave the businesse to those that have houses neare London. There are abundance of suitors for money attending y<sup>e</sup> comission of y<sup>e</sup> Treasury every day of meeting, but few or none are satisfied . . . .

11<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641.

*Copy.*

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E. NICHOLAS TO CHARLES I.

“ Coppy of my letter<sup>a</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> King.”

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE,

As I will not presume to trouble your Majestie with my letters upon every small occasion, soe shall I crave that, with your Majesties favour, I may be vouchsafed leave sometymes to acquaint yourself with such things as I would not willingly should passe to you by any other conveyance. The Lords of your Majesties councell, taking this day into consideracion in what manner to make knowne your Majesties great grace to your subjects expressed in your generall and gracious pardon left in the hands of the Lord Keeper, did resolve that it was not fitt to tender the same to the parliament untill they shall finde by some of their friends in both houses that it will be accepted; for albeit the same may be desired

<sup>a</sup> The king's answer to this letter, with further correspondence between him and Nicholas, will be found in Bray's *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, ed. 1850-52, iv. p. 49.

by diverse members of both houses, yet it would not be for your Majesties honour that it should be rejected or coldly embraced, the same being as gracious and large a pardon as hath been given by any of your Majesties progenitors. I hope I shalbe able shortly to give your Majestie a further accompt what is like to be donne herein. The 4 persons nominated by the house of commons to be sent as committees for Scotland are not (as I heare) soe fixed upon as yet but that they may some of them be altered. The Lords house hath not as yet named any to joyne with them. The upper house inclynes to meete but once a weeke after Saturday next, and soe from weeke to weeke to adjourne, unlesse there shalbe occasion. The Lords of the Councell have resolved to attend the Queene once a weeke att least to receive her Majesties commands after she shalbe setled at Oatlands. The Lords of the Threasury assure me that they have given order for monnyes for payment of all that concernes them for the Queene mother's journey, which she determines to begin too morrow and to lye that night att Grenewich and y<sup>e</sup> next night at Cobham. Albeit, in regard of the tediousness and hazard of the journey your Majestie hath undertaken, I wished with all my soule that your Majestie might without going in person have put a happy end to your great busines, yet I may not forbear to tell you, that your Majesties steddines in passing through soe much inportunity hath made some men begin to consider that what your Majestie resolves on upon good grounds will not alwayes nor easily be altered. I beseech your Majestie pardon the boldnes of your humblest servant, who prayes most affectionately for your Majesties prosperous journey. . . . .

11<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641, Westminster.

*Draft.*

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## THE SAME TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I have now made my dispatch to Mr. Sec. Vane and given him an accompt of such affaires here as concerned his Majesties service, being unwilling to trespass too much on your Graces patience. I have in this dispatch taken the bouldnes to write to his Majestie; and, if I might by your Graces favour be certefyed in what I may therein have fayled, this being the first tyme that I ever presumed soe farre, your Grace would add very much to y<sup>e</sup> infinitenes of your obligacions and mend the workmanshipp of your hands. I know not how my poore advertisements may be reported to his Majestie; but my confidence is in your Graces goodnes and protection, that you will vouchsafe to preserve me in his Majesties good opinion who have noe ends or ayme in my endeavours and desires but only the good of his Majesties service in a playne and direct lyne. . . . .

11<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641.*Draft.*

SIR HEN. VANE.

SIR,

Since my comminge from London I have receaved 2 of yours, the one att Raby Castle y<sup>t</sup> night hes Majestie arrived ther, the other this morninge att Newcastle att tinne of the clocke. The letters to his Majestie and Duke I did instantly speede away to Edenbought, wheare his Majestie arrives this night, hee havvinge yesterday dined att Newcastle with General Lesly,<sup>a</sup> his Majestie

<sup>a</sup> Alexander Leslie, commanding the Scotch army in England; cr. Earl of Leven in October following.



havinge first seene y<sup>t</sup> Armie in armes uppon the Hill, on the south syde of Tyne. The comandars weare all richly cladd, the souldiers parfite in the use of ther armes to the great satisfaction of his Majestie and them. The like course was held att Durham by the commander ther, and thought [throughout] all the townes as his Majestie passed, wheare any of the Scotts weare in garrison. The lest [list] of the publike acts and the letters the lords of the counsel have written to the Justices of the Assize I shal acquaint his Majestie with, when I waytte uppon him, which will not bee soner then Tuesday, my selfe goin in my coche. For the resolution the lords have taken to meette in counsel, I am of the same opinion with you, that they will each of them goe to ther country houses that are remote and y<sup>t</sup> those neare hande will not meette. For the lords of the Tresory, God send them money in more plenty before I returne, if his Majesty make not a lord Tresorer,<sup>a</sup> which he wilbee necessitated unto; for certainly a commission cannot give such dispatch as is requisite if ther ware plenty of moneys. I doe heare from the Scotts att Newcastle y<sup>t</sup> the Parlement of England are sendinge Commissioners to that of Scotland, which hath sate this 12 dayes, 2 of the lords house 4 of the commons, soe as by this you may perceave the business will receive dispatch by his Majestie and Parlements, not by the lords of the counsel. Yet I could wishe they should meette, if itt weare but to prepare business for his Majesty's returne, soe y<sup>t</sup> kinge and people may goe close together, by which meanes the honor of our nation may bee raised uppon suche principles as in the famous times of his pred[ec]essors and made them glorious; and certainly ther is now noe other choice, and itt is hight time all jalousies weare removed; for until y<sup>t</sup> bee done, who cann give counsel y<sup>t</sup> shal availe? Att my arrival att court I shall not fayle but to give you an accompt of our

<sup>b</sup> Since Bishop Juxon's resignation on 19 May the Treasury had been in commission, the Commissioners being Lord Keeper Lyttelton, the Earl of Manchester, Chief Justice Bankes, Lord Newburgh, and Sir H. Vane.

affayres ther. I shall to-morrow make a sabboth days journey and goe from this towne to Berwicke. And soe I rest, *etc.*

H. VANE.

Anwicke, this 14 of August, 1641.

E. NICHOLAS TO SIR H. VANE.

RT. HONOURABLE,

. . . The agreement with the Scots committees is now fully finished and all their monney and payments ascerteyned, as well for the brotherly assistance as for their other areres and for the tyme of their further stay here even to the day of their passing the Tweede, which is agreed to be on the 25 of this month, to the contentment of all here ; which agreement being reported to the parliament is there well approved of. And att a conference of both houses it was resolved that there shalbe on y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> of September next a publique thanksgiving for this good accord betweene y<sup>e</sup> 2 nacions. There was brought upp from the house of Comons on y<sup>e</sup> 13 of this month an impeachment against the 13 Bishoppes formerly accused in that house, as you may remember. It is (as I am told) the same charge in effect as before, but something more particular. Yesterday the Q. mother went from Greenewich to Cobham, whether our Queene accompanied her. My Lo: Marshall,<sup>a</sup> when he was redly to be gone to attend their Majesties, desired me to put your honour in mind to move his Majestie for his gracious letter (if you have not already procured it) to y<sup>e</sup> prince of Orenge on behalf of the present Earl of Oxon,<sup>b</sup> that in contemplacion of the good service by his father and auncestors his highnes will conferre on him one of the first troopes of horse that shall fall in his

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, 1603 ; Earl Marshal since 1621.

<sup>b</sup> Aubrey de Vere, 20th and last Earl of Oxford, succ. in 1632 ; at this time a youth 15 years of age.

disposing. Sir Tho. Jermyn <sup>a</sup> desires your honour to doe him the favour to get his Majesties hand to the Bill herewith sent for the office of Corroner and Attorney in the Kings Bench and to returne it as soone as may be. With this I send your honour a letter from my Lord Bankes <sup>b</sup> to his Majestie by order of y<sup>e</sup> Upper House of Parliament. It is, as I heare, about y<sup>e</sup> Agreement made with the Scottish Commissioners here. . . .

Westminster, 14<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641.

*Draft.*

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THE SAME TO THOMAS WEBB.<sup>c</sup>

SIR,

The many freindly offices you have been pleased to doe me here upon all occasions have invited me to desire that you will doe me the favour some tymes to advertise me how and which way I may best apply my industry and endeavours here to serve his Majestie. I know you, being upon the place and dayly conversing with those that are neerest the helme, are best able to guide an unexperienced man amongst the rocks which att Court doe soonest split him that intends most honestly. And because it is the most becoming and acceptable thing for one honest man to helpe another and that I beleve that he who holdes intelligence with you cannot be ill informed, I must importune you to afforde me some light from your candle, and I will assure you I shall take it as a singular obligacion.

<sup>a</sup> M.P. for Bury St. Edmund's, and late Comptroller of the Household; father of Henry Jermyn, who, as Lord Jermyn, figures so frequently in the correspondence further on.

<sup>b</sup> Sir John Bankes, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, acting Speaker of the House of Lords in the absence of Lord Keeper Lyttelton.

<sup>c</sup> Secretary to the Duke of Richmond; the same probably as the Thomas Webb, M.P. for West Romney, who was expelled from the House as a monopolist in March, 1641.

I sent by packet Tuesday night last a commission for y<sup>e</sup> Kinges hand for authorizing some lords here to give the Royall assent to the Bill of tonnage and poundage and directed it to my lord of Richmond, because wee did hope that it might have overtaken the Kinge att farthest att Doncaster; but there being noe returne of that commission as yet come hither, the lords of parliament are much troubled at it and will not beleeve but that if I had sent an expresse with that dispatch it would have sooner overtaken the Kinge then the running post, his Majestie being at Stampford in bed before I receaved the commission to send it away. It is much spoken of in the Commons house that my lords grace<sup>a</sup> being out of the kingdome that a lieutenant is not left to remayne in Dover Castle. I pray consider of it and move my lord speedily to take order in it.

Westminster, 14<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641.

*Draft.*

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SIR HEN. VANE.

SIR,

. . . His majestie went this day to the Parlement; but before hee came to this towne they made an order to medle with noe private business before the publike was settled, as alsoe y<sup>t</sup> none of Scottishe peeres that weare peeres of England or counsellors should bee admitted to sitt in Parlement until they shal have signed ther covenant, soe as the Duke,<sup>b</sup> Marquise,<sup>c</sup> Morton,<sup>d</sup> Roxborough,<sup>e</sup> and

<sup>a</sup> The Duke of Richmond, who was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

<sup>b</sup> Richmond and Lenox. He and the rest signed the covenant and took their seats on the 18th and 19th. (Balfour, *Annals*, iii. p. 44.)

<sup>c</sup> James Hamilton, 3rd Marquis of Hamilton, succ. in 1625; cr. Duke of Hamilton in 1643.

<sup>d</sup> William Douglas, 7th Earl of Morton, succ. in 1606.

<sup>e</sup> Robert Ker of Cessford, cr. Earl of Roxburgh in 1616.

others are not yett admitted. They alsoe intend to make a president, thought his Majestie bee heare ; this they say is in regard y<sup>t</sup> they have neither Chancelor nor Tresorer. I shalbee able within a day or tow to see what plie these affayres will take, for we are yett but in the beginnings. They seeme all to bee very desirous of peace ; God grant itt, for nothings is soe necessary nor soe wholesome for the prosperitie of his Majesties affayres and weale of his kingdomes. . . . And soe I rest, *etc.*

H. VANE.

Edenbrough, this 17 of August, 1641.

The lords of the Articles<sup>a</sup> are taken [away] and soe consequently the double votes of Peeres y<sup>t</sup> are Counsellors and the votes of Counsellors y<sup>t</sup> are not peeres. Heare is prayers and preachinge the Scottishe way.

#### E. NICHOLAS TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Yours of the 13 of this month came to my handes yesterday morning and is the only letter that I have receaved out of the North since his Majesties departure ; but the honour I therby receaved is an abundant recompence for all the packets that I have sent. I finde Mr. Threasurer to be reserved in his favourable advise and direccions ; and, least he might let me know too much,

<sup>a</sup> The committee of Parliament so called appears to have been first formally instituted in 1369 for the purpose of preparing bills to be laid before the House. As, however, the bills were put to the vote in the mass, it gradually usurped the whole power of Parliament. Its constitution varied at different times, but in 1633 it was ordered to consist of eight members of each of the four estates, together with eight officers of state nominated by the king. It was not finally suppressed until 1689. See *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, i. p. 16, v. p. 9, &c.



he resolves, I think, not to write at all. His honour signed the packet your Grace sent me, and, if I am not deceived, his seale was to your letter, but I receaved not a word from him. I confesse I understand not this correspondency. I am here att a great disadvantage in his Majesties service, being a stranger to his Majesties businesses and unacquainted with the parliament proceeding and having from the person I am to correspond withall not a word of direccions, which way or wherein to apply my endeavours to serve his Majestie. I beseech your Grace that these wants may by your Graces favour be represented to his Majestie, when he shall have cause to blame me for not answering his expectacons. . . .

17<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641.

*Draft.*

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THE SAME TO SIR H. VANE.

R<sup>t</sup> HONO<sup>ble</sup>

. . . Upon y<sup>e</sup> delivery of y<sup>e</sup> comission which your honour sent from Raby the Act of Tonnage and Poundage was forthwith passed<sup>a</sup> and is now in print. The houses of parliament meete diligently every day, but they are now very thin, most of y<sup>e</sup> members of both houses being gone into y<sup>e</sup> country. The sicknesse is also come into a taverne neare y<sup>e</sup> upper house, which will hasten their adjournment, as 'tis thought. The Queene Mother is now at Canterbury expecting a faire wind, as my Lord Marshall writes. . . . I doe not heare that there is any thing as yet done in Parliament concerning y<sup>e</sup> generall pardon. I hope, now that your enterteynment of y<sup>e</sup> King at Raby is over, I shall receive direccions from your honour how to imploy my indeavours here for y<sup>e</sup> best advaniage of his Majesties service. As I was ready to close this letter I receaved a paquet from my Lord Marshall advertising

<sup>a</sup> Passed by Commission, 16 Aug. (*Lords' Journals*, iv. p. 365.)



that y<sup>e</sup> Queene Mother intends too morrow to goe to Dover, and, reposing herselfe there Thursday, to imbarque on Friday next, if y<sup>e</sup> wind shalbee faire. . . .

Your Honours most, &c.

E. N.

Westminster, 17<sup>o</sup> Augusti, 1641.

*Copy.*

### THE SAME TO THE EARL OF ARUNDEL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

Your Lordships of the 15, 16 and 17th of this moneth I have received and conveyed all y<sup>e</sup> letters which came to mee inclosed in them. I conceived it best to deliver your Lordships to Mr. Pym<sup>a</sup> to prevent such informacion as Captaine Waddesworth<sup>b</sup> might els have given in his owne excuse, his prisoner being escaped. I heare Mr. Pym acquainted y<sup>e</sup> house of Comons with your Lordships letter, and soe that matter rests without any order or direction. . . . The Parliament Houses here are sending y<sup>e</sup> Lord Howard of Escrick,<sup>c</sup> Sir Phil. Stapleton, and Mr. John Hampden as committees into Scotland to see y<sup>e</sup> performance of y<sup>e</sup> Act of Pacification on that side; but some thinke there is more matter in y<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This letter to Pym is referred to in the *Com. Journ.* 16 Aug. (ii. p. 259), when it was ordered that one Savage, arrested on suspicion of being a priest, should be released as belonging to the retinue of the Queen Mother, but that a young man taken in his company should be examined by the Committee for Recusants.

<sup>b</sup> Capt. James Wadsworth, notorious for his activity in tracking out recusants. He had himself been a Roman Catholic, and was described by Sanderson (*Reign of James I.*, 1656, p. 491) as "a renegado proselyte turncote of any religion and every trade, now living, 1655, a common hackney to the basest catchpole bayliffs." See also Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, iii. p. 1077.

<sup>c</sup> Edward Howard, a younger son of Thomas, 1st Earl of Suffolk, cr. Baron Howard of Escrick in 1628. Like the rest of the Commissioners he was opposed to the Court party.

sending of them, and whether they shalbee sent without his Majesties leave or a commission from his Majestie is doubtfull. There is a letter come from y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Holland<sup>a</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Ea. of Essex<sup>b</sup> which hath caused very great jealousies here. Hee writes that y<sup>e</sup> Assizes are at Yorke, and adds in y<sup>e</sup> same letter words to this effect, "I pray God by intelligence that is come amongst us that there bee not at this time a generall Assizes and Judgment intended upon this kingdome, which cannot bee prevented but by the wisdom of both houses of Parliament. As for y<sup>e</sup> armies they wilbee obedient to your commands"; and ads in a postscript, "The Scottish army hath lately made recreuts, but wee hope it was but to make their army show the fairer to his Majestie." If there were any cause of danger, his Lordship did not well to write soe obscurely and breife; if there bee noe danger at all (as I believe), then his Lordship hath said too much. But upon this letter the Commons house hath written to his Lordship to give order to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor of Hull not to permit any municion to be carried out of y<sup>e</sup> towne but by order of Parliament. . . .

Westminster, 13<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641.

*Copy.*

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#### THE SAME TO SIR H. VANE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Your honour's letter from Anwick dated ye 14<sup>th</sup> of this moneth att 12 a clock at night came not to me till this 18<sup>th</sup> day att 8 in

<sup>a</sup> Henry Rich, cr. Baron Kensington in 1622, and Earl of Holland in 1624; general of the English army in the North. Clarendon attributes his enigmatical letter to pique at the king's refusing him "the making a baron, which at that time might have been worth to him ten thousand pounds." (*History*, ed. 1843, p. 115.) The letter found its way into print, for which Thomas (or Matthew) Symonds, the publisher, got into trouble with the House (*C. J.*, 20, 24 Aug. ii., pp. 266, 268). The extract quoted by Nicholas differs somewhat from the printed text.

<sup>b</sup> Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl in 1603, Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

y<sup>e</sup> morning, whereof I thought good to advertise your honour, that you may see how slow the posts are, who by this accompt ride not 3 myles an howre. I have tould Mr. Burlemachj<sup>a</sup> of it and desired him to examyne the cause of it, and to quicken y<sup>e</sup> post-masters or otherwise his Majestie wilbe very ill served here. The Committees which are to be sent to y<sup>e</sup> Parliament of Scotland are the Lord Howard of Escrick, Sir Ph. Stapleton and Mr. Hampden and noe more that I heare of, only Mr. Fines<sup>b</sup> and Sir Wm. [Armyn] are added by y<sup>e</sup> Commons in case y<sup>e</sup> others should be sick. Their cheif business is to see y<sup>e</sup> performance there of the Articles and Pacificacion, which it is conceived will not keepe them long in that kingdome. The busines against the 13 Bishoppes is put off till Thursday come moneth. The houses are both very thyn and, if once the Scots Army were returned homeward over y<sup>e</sup> Twede, I beleeve they would soone adjourne. It would be a great quiet and happines to the kinge and kingdome if all jelousies might be soe removed as that there might be a right understanding betweene the king and his parliament, for I am of your honours minde that, till that be, all men wilbe afraide to give counsell. I wish, as you write, that all businesses may receave dispatch by the king and his parliament, rather then by the privy counsell, which hath sate but once since his Majesties departure. The Earle of Holland hath written a Letter to y<sup>e</sup> Speaker of the Commons House that lesse than 150<sup>m</sup>l. will not pay off all y<sup>e</sup> English army, which causeth some trouble here. The Poll money comes in but slowly out of y<sup>e</sup> Countrey and much short of expectacion, which makes mee feare wee shall suddainly runne into a generall confusion here. The Earle of Essex hath lately acquainted both houses of parliament that hee hath a commission from his Majestie to bee Lorde

<sup>a</sup> Philip Burlamachi, Master of the Posts.

<sup>b</sup> Nathaniel Fiennes, M.P. for Banbury, 2nd son of Viscount Saye and Sele. Though his name and Sir W. Armyn's were only added "in case of mortality or sickness" (*C. J.*, 18 Aug., ii. p. 262), all four commoners actually served on the commission. (Balfour, *Annals*, iii. p. 92.)

Generall on this side Trent, but that hee hath noe money to make provisions for an army or to pay any, nor power to raise any men, in regard y<sup>e</sup> Parliament hath decayed the power of Lords Lieutenants and those wayes whereby heretofore souldiours were wont to be leavied. Here hath been a rumour that y<sup>e</sup> king had sent for all his Fleete to come to y<sup>e</sup> northward, though y<sup>e</sup> ships for y<sup>e</sup> most part lye in y<sup>e</sup> downes expecting a transportacion of y<sup>e</sup> Queen mother, who is at Canterbury and intends to goe thence this weeke to Dover to imbarque if y<sup>e</sup> wind come faire . . . .

Westminster, 18<sup>o</sup> Augusti, 1641.

*Draft.*

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SIR HEN. VANE.

SIR,

His Majestie hath putt into my hands the doubles of those letters y<sup>t</sup> passed from my lords of Parlement to the Lord General touchinge the disbandinge of the Scottishe Armie, and with the order of Parlement for ther passinge throught Berwicke, which is thought heere strange, and y<sup>t</sup>, had it not been directed by the wisdom of the Parlement, it is thought a bridge over the Tweede would have done as well. The Deputy Governor hath dispatched an express to his Majestie concerning this business, findeinge itt an impossibilitie how the general and governor ther can assure any thinge, the garison ther consistinge but of 1400 men, and the armie of 20,000 horse and foote, besides diverse other inconveniences, it beinge 8 miles out of ther direct way home, and as they marched into England. His Majestie (the lord general havinge sent Capt. Paumes to know his pleasure heerein) findeinge y<sup>t</sup> the P. of Orenge nor any other greate Commanders doe in ther owne countreys marche throught townes with armys, if ther bee any meanes to make bridges over rivers, upon these instances and considerations hee

is givinge order to have a bridge made over the Tweede in some convenient place, that Lesley shal like of ; and I wishe with all my hart they may bee out of England with ther armie by this day sevenight, att which they seme all heare to have much joye and contentment and say they will give orders to have a publique thanksgivinge to bee held in this kingedome the same day with ours for the peace of the 2 crownes. His Majestie commands me to tell you that hee is well satisfied with your diligenes in advertising him what passes amongst you above and invites you to contineu the same . . . .

Your faithful friend and servant,

H. VANE.

Edenbought, this 19 of August, 1641.

General Lesley hath written heither to ther parlement heare in conformitie to what you have written concerninge the day and the disbandinge and marchinge of the Scottishe army, and it troubles our general and the governor of Berwicke y<sup>t</sup> the Parlement hath ordered ther marchinge throught the towne, and I am now by his Majesties command dispathinge to Lesly about the same. I send you heare with the coppie of the kings speeche,<sup>a</sup> which I presume the Queene had by the last, the protestation printed, and what att the general assembly before the sittinge downe of the parlement heare. You wilbee pleased to give my lords of the Counsel communication heareof, when they meete, and present them with my humblest service.

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<sup>a</sup> Addressed to the Scotch Parliament, 17 Aug. (Balfour, *Annals*, iii. p. 40.) See also Rushworth, iv. p. 382.



## THE SAME.

SIR,

. . . . . The Lord Belmerinath<sup>a</sup> is made president of the Parlement; his Majestie proposed him to the House. The Scottishe troopes are this day drawn from Durham to Newcastle. This day the Parlement have dispatched the Lord Amont<sup>b</sup> lieutenant general to Lesly, with orders for ther marche towards the Tweede.

Edenborought, this 19 of August, 1641, 12 att night.

## E. NICHOLAS TO THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

His Majestie having commanded mee to attend here for dispatch of his affaires in the absence of Mr. Secretary Vane and left order with mee to attend y<sup>e</sup> Lords of y<sup>e</sup> Councell here with some letters which came in a dispatch from your Lordships, dated the third of this moneth, directed to Mr. Secretary, who was gone to y<sup>e</sup> Northwards some dayes before his Majestie, I am by their Lordships direccions to advertize you, that concerning y<sup>e</sup> souldiours to bee transported for Spaine your Lordships will understand his Majesties pleasure by a letter under his owne hand prepared and sent by Sir Phillip Mainwaring. As touching the stay of an Act of Parliament transmitted from thence for repealing certaine Statutes restrayning the exportacion of y<sup>e</sup> native commodities of that kingdome their Lordshipps willed mee to assure you that it is forborne to bee sent back onely untill y<sup>e</sup> parliament there shall have soe

<sup>a</sup> John Elphinston, 2nd Baron Balmerino, a strong Covenanter; elected President unanimously on 18 Aug. (Balfour, iii. p. 45.)

<sup>b</sup> James Livingston, cr. Baron Livingston of Almond in 1633, and Earl of Callendar, 6 Oct. 1641.



settled his Majesties Revenew of that kingdome as that his Majestie by the passing of it may be noe looser. Concerning your dispatch about answering y<sup>e</sup> complaint of Henry Steward and others presented to y<sup>e</sup> Parliament here, the same is now in consideracion before y<sup>e</sup> Lords in Parliament by occasion of a letter sent to y<sup>e</sup> Speaker of that House. . . . .

Here is a rumour spread that there are 12000 souldiers leavied and in readinesse in Ireland, which raiseth greate jealousies on this side. I conceive your Honours shall doe his Majestie good service not onely to advertise the Lords here how false that report is, but, if you can, to suppress y<sup>e</sup> like and punish y<sup>e</sup> reporters.

Your honours, &c.,

E. N.

Dated at Westminster, 21<sup>o</sup> Augusti, 1641, and sent by Mr. Fletcher.

*Copy.*

# THE SAME TO THE EARL OF ARUNDEL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

. . . . This day the Committees sent by y<sup>e</sup> House of Parliament are set forth towards Scotland, a copy of whose Instruccions<sup>a</sup> together with the ordinance concerning them I heare with send your Lordship, who thereby wilbe able to judge both of y<sup>e</sup> nature and importance of that busines. I have been told by some good Parliament men that it is rare to see an ordnance in Parliament made without y<sup>e</sup> kings consent, but of that your Lordship knowes more and can better judge then any with whome I can here advise concerning it. It is thought now those Comittees are dispatcht there will not bee much businesse done in Parliament untill there come some newes from them. The Earle of Holland did lately advertize both Houses that there wants 140,000*l.* to pay off and

<sup>a</sup> Printed in the *Lords' Journals*, 20 Aug., iv. p. 372.

discharge all y<sup>e</sup> English army, which seemes strange newes at this time of day, it having been ordered in parliament that both armies should be discharged and disbanded by the 25th of this moneth. The Parliament seemes to have a little jealousy of my Lord of Holland in regard hee hath not hitherto discharged any of y<sup>e</sup> Horse, and hath therefore sent an expresse order to him forthwith and in y<sup>e</sup> first place to discharge all y<sup>e</sup> Horse, for which purpose there is 20,000*l.* lately sent away, which, with the money that remains still with his Lordship, will, as is conceived, bee more than is sufficient to doe that worke. The Lords in Parliament have given order to y<sup>e</sup> Lord Constable of y<sup>e</sup> Tower of London <sup>a</sup> forthwith to reside in person in that his charge; and they have added 40 souldiours to bee chosen by his Lordship to reinforce y<sup>e</sup> garrison there, which are to bee paid by Parliament. The Houses are full of jealousies and apprehensions, though I believe without any cause. . . . Some say that y<sup>e</sup> Lord Montrosse <sup>b</sup> who was comitted by the Parliament there is by them freed, and given to y<sup>e</sup> King; but I cannot affirme any certainty of this report, onely I heare in generall that there is greate hope that his Majestie will have a speedy and prosperous dispatch of his affaires there, soe as it is conceived hee wilbee back againe before y<sup>e</sup> Parliament here will, with all their diligence, have paid off and discharged all y<sup>e</sup> English army. . . .

Westminster, 21<sup>o</sup> April [*sic*, Aug.], 1641.

*Copy.*

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SIR HEN. VANE.

SIR,

The last night about 5 of the clocke I receaved yours of the 17, with the pacquet to his Majestie. With this you shal receive his

<sup>a</sup> Mountjoy Blount, Earl of Newport, cr. in 1628. See the order in the *Lords' Journals*, 18 Aug., iv. p. 369.

<sup>b</sup> Since 11 June he had been confined in the Castle of Edinburgh on a charge of plotting against Argyll and the Covenant. He was not released until Jan. 1642.

further pleasure and answeare to the same, and with itt the tydings of peace, a welcome meswage to you all; for the Scottishe Armie was lodged the last night th[r]ee miles south of Belford <sup>a</sup> and certainly to morrow night or Tuesday morninge will pass the Tweede, the general havinge declared y<sup>t</sup> hee will keepe the day the Parlement hath ordayned and y<sup>t</sup>, as hee came in like a friend, soe will hee goe out. Hee hath now in his retreate shewed himselfe a wise man both towards his Majestie and the countreys; for, uppon a letter I did writte unto him by his majesties command y<sup>t</sup> hee should not make use of his passwage throught Berwicke, hee will pass the same way hee came in, thought his Majestie offred to make him a bridge. And thought of the countreys as hee passes hee requires only cariage, and for that his orders are not to command but to desire the Justices of peace to bee assistant to the officers soe as they have contentment; and those souldiers that lay att Durham marched to Morpeth the first day, which is 25 longe southerne myles, in all which the countreys acknowledge the care hee hath of them. We doe wonder to heare nothinge heare of the Lord Lowdon <sup>b</sup> nor of y<sup>e</sup> arrival of the Commissioners from our Parlement. The change of the Lord Howard for the Earl of Bedford <sup>c</sup> wee heare of, and y<sup>t</sup> the 2 commoners are the same. His Majestie heard his morninge sermon this day att the great church of St. Gyles, wheare wee had prayers and preachinge the Scottishe way by one M<sup>r</sup> Henry Rolloucke, <sup>d</sup> the afternone the same prayers and preach-

<sup>a</sup> In Northumberland, 13 miles south of Berwick.

<sup>b</sup> John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, cr. in 1633. Having been sent as Scotch Commissioner to London in 1640, he was committed to the Tower as privy to the intercepted letter from some of the leading Covenanters to the King of France. He was now on his way home with the Treaty of Pacification.

<sup>c</sup> William Russell, 5th Earl, succ. 9 May, 1641. Though named one of the Commission to Scotland, he was excused "in regard of his great occasions." (*L. J.*, 13, 19 Aug., iv. pp. 362, 371.)

<sup>d</sup> According to Baillie (*Letters*, etc., i. pp. 213, 255), he preached to some purpose when the Scots invaded England in 1638 and 1640. "We were much obliddged to the toum of Edinburgh for moneyes. Harie Rollock by his sermons moved them to

ings by Mr. Will. Coluile att the Abbey Church. Soe as you see now one may heare tow sermons the Sunday att court; and, I will assure, prayers alsoe twice a day dulle, wheare wee have ex tempore prayers and singeing of psalmes, his Majestie present, and Mr. Henderson,<sup>a</sup> when hee sayes not prayers, allwayes att the kings chayre in the same manner I have seene the Bishop of Canterbury attend. They have heare altered in some things the forme of ther Parlement, but hold entire to ther grounds. They shutt out from sittinge in Parlement all members, whether lords knights or borrowes, that have been summoned to appeare, by which meanes the Earles Lithkoe,<sup>b</sup> Carnwath,<sup>c</sup> Tillebarne<sup>d</sup> and diverse others are not to have session in Parlement until all ther businesses are setled. The lords of the Articles are quitte taken away, and wheare as before ther weare 2 knights of shire too one voice, they have (since the Bishops weare thrown out) eache a voice, soe as the nobilitie and gentry havinge both equal voices, nay the gentry the major part, and sittinge in one house, wheare the power is, you may judge. They intende to disband ther Armies by Regiments assone as they are over the Twede but 4000 foote and some few horse, and which they say they will keepe about this towne until all ther businesses bee setled. This nation beinge active and stirringe, those that have had the leadinge in these businesses will not lett all disband for present, and itt is sayd y<sup>t</sup> Monroe,<sup>e</sup> y<sup>t</sup> lay

shake out their purses." And again, "Rollock had so sweetlie spoken to the people's mindes on the Sonday, that the women afternoon and to-morrow gave freeleie great store of that stufte [linen for tents] almost sufficient to cover all our armie."

<sup>a</sup> Alexander Henderson, minister at Edinburgh and rector of the University, the famous leader of the Scotch presbyterian clergy.

<sup>b</sup> Alexander Livingston, 2nd Earl of Linlithgow, succ. in 1622.

<sup>c</sup> Robert Dalzell, 2nd Earl of Carnwath, succ. in 1639.

<sup>d</sup> Patrick Murray, succ. as 3rd Earl of Tullibardine on his brother's resignation in 1629.

<sup>e</sup> Robert Monro, or Munro, general-major of the Scotch army under Leslie. Like the latter he had gained his military experience in the German wars of Gustavus Adolphus.

neare Berwicke, shal have the command of these men. Great provisions of vittayle they have made for them att Leith.

His Majestie takes infinite paynes, is in business from morninge until night and will certainly part fayre with this people. Thus you see Gods goodness to this Iland, to setle peace amongst us which is past mans understandinge, and certainly itt is his woorke not ours. Hee make us thankful for itt, and give us grace to make a right use therof. You will acquaint her Majestie and my Lords with what you shal thinke necessary and fittinge out of this despatch; and present her Majestie and them with my humblest service. I have been called uppon by you to directe you in what you might bee most useful to his Majesties service now in his absence. Truly, I know not how to direct you better then to keepe you in y<sup>e</sup> same good way you are in; for his Majestie is well satisfied with your diligenes, and the affayres of state (excepte itt bee some particular directions) are now in his Majesties absence in the Parlement, and those you receive from his Majesties Royal penn. And soe I rest, *etc.*,

H VANE.

Edenbought, this 23 of August, 1641.

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E. NICHOLAS TO SIR H. VANE.

RT. HONOURABLE,

. . . . This dispatch is principally to convey unto you y<sup>e</sup> proclamacion for Tonnage and Poundage, which y<sup>e</sup> Lords of y<sup>e</sup> Upper House sent to mee even now to bee hastned for y<sup>e</sup> kings hand, which you may bee pleased to procure and to returne it to mee with all speed possible. The Lords Commissioners who are appointed to dispatch businesses here in his Majesties absence, upon perusall of their comission, find that they have not thereby power

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to set forth proclamacions but in case of unlawfull assemblies and other accidents of State, within which they conceave this is not comprehended. The Earle of Rothes<sup>a</sup> dyed yesterday about 7 a clock at Richmond. I heare that most of y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners of y<sup>e</sup> Treasury who are in Towne wilbee gone into y<sup>e</sup> countrey after this weeke. Here is a Courrier that brought letters to your Honour from Sir Thomas Rowe<sup>b</sup> before your journey into Scotland that hath desired mee to put your Honour in mind of his dispatch, whereof I promised to give you advertisement by this letter. There are wiser men here then my selfe that conceave it wilbee a very difficult thing for any man that takes y<sup>e</sup> oath (ordered there to bee taken by every Parliament man) to keepe it, being soe exceeding strict. I pray God send a good and speedy end to all businesses in that kingdome, that soe by their good example wee may at length see an happy issue of all affaires here. . . . .

Your honours &c.

E. N.

The sicknesse and small pox increaseth much here in London and Westminster.

Westminster, 24<sup>o</sup> Maij [*sic*, Aug.], 1641.

*Copy.*

<sup>a</sup> John Leslie, 5th Earl of Rothes, succ. in 1621; an active Covenanter and chief of the Scotch Commissioners in England. His death, however, at this time, was a serious misfortune for Charles, who had succeeded in gaining him over. (Clarendon, *History*, p. 112.)

<sup>b</sup> Or Roe, ambassador to the Diet at Ratisbon and Vienna concerning the affairs of the Palatinate. A large number of his letters, dated Dec. 1641-Oct. 1643, are among the Nicholas Papers (Eg. MS. 2533, ff. 258-380).



THE SAME TO THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.<sup>a</sup>

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPP,

. . . . . Your lordship I presume hath received from Mr. Treasurer advertisement how much joye y<sup>e</sup> Scots expressed att the kinges arrivall att Edenburgh, but, for all I heare, they recede from none of their former resolucions, neither have they gratified the kinge with the release of the lo. Montrosse or with the passing with the Ea. of Traquaire,<sup>b</sup> which matters rest till their committees, the lo. Loudoun and the rest, shall arrive there, who were not come thither y<sup>e</sup> 19 of this moneth. All the Scots lords that went hence with the kinge have signed the covenaut and taken y<sup>e</sup> parliament oath in Scotland; and till they had done soe they were not admitted to sitt in parliament there. I heare that, if the actes that are to be confirmed in Scotland had been with the lo. Loudoun and the rest of their committees brought thither in tyme, that all the kinges busines in Scotland might have been done by the ende of this or at farthest the next weeke. . . . . My lo. Saye goes to his house in Oxfordshire<sup>c</sup> this weeke, and then there will not be a sufficient number of committees of the Threasurie to sitt; but the truth is, unlesse there were more money, their sitting would be to little purpose. If<sup>d</sup> my advertisement from Scotland be true, I may in confidence tell your lordship that the king is there like to get nothing but an end and that such a one as the Scots please who have been the guiders there all this while. It seemes that the absence of some and the restraint of others causeth all this quiet there at present.

Westminster, 24<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641.*Draft.*<sup>a</sup> Algernon Percy, succ. as 10th Earl in 1632; Lord High Admiral in 1636.<sup>b</sup> John Stewart, cr. Earl of Traquair in 1633; Royal Commissioner to the General Assembly and the Scotch Parliament in 1639. He was at present under impeachment as chief of the "Incendiaries."<sup>c</sup> At Broughton, where, according to Wood (*Athenæ Oxon.*, iii. p. 546), the Puritan party were wont to hold secret meetings.<sup>d</sup> The rest of the letter from this point is scored through for omission.

SIR HEN. VANE.

SIR,

I presume you will not heareafter complayne y<sup>t</sup> you heare not from mee. My Lord Loudun arrived heare this day. To-morrow morninge His Majestie and the Parlement enter uppon the ratification of the Treaty of Peace<sup>a</sup> made betwixt the 2 kingedomes, and, whatsoever letters you receive from Yorke or else wheare, this kingedome speakes of nothinge with soe much heartiness as of the blessedness of this peace and of the joye and comfort therof; and therefore ther is nothinge now in the first place to bee intended but the disbanding of our army and the garrisons, for the Scottishe canon lies this night with ther army att the Tweede syde and to-morrowe passes, soe as ther general will keepe the day with the Parlement of England and soe disband ther souldiers by regiments, all but 4000 foote and 300 horse, and them too, if wee bee diligent in disbandinge ours accordinge to the Treaty. . . . .

Your affectionate friend to his power,

H. VANE.

Edenbought, this 24 of August, 1641.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF IRELAND TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL  
OF ENGLAND.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST HONOURABLE LORDSHIPS,

By letters from Mr. Nicholas, one of the clerks of the Councell there, dated the 21<sup>th</sup> of this month, which came even now to our hands, wee finde that there is a rumor spread at London that there are twelve thousand soldiours levied and in a redines in this kingdome, which raiseth great jealousie on that side. Whence such misreports should arrise wee cannot conceive, but doe imagin them

<sup>a</sup> Formally ratified on 26 Aug. (*Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, v. p. 335).

to have been devised by some Jesuits or Priests or such other ill affected persons. However, wee hould it our duties humbly to make knowne to your Lordships that that reporte is untrue; and such is our desire to acquitt ourselves towards those highe duties which we owe to his Majestie and to the quiet and safetie of this kingdome, as, if there should happen any such disorder heere (wherof, thancks bee to God, there is not at this time the least visible apperance), wee should bee very watchefull not only to use our best endeavors for the seasonable suppressing of it, but also quickly to advertise his Majestie and your Lordships therof. It is true that, when wee formerly received his Majesties warrants to permitt transportacion of men, certaine numbers in severall parts were gathered together; but, uppon command afterwards received to stay them, they were soone seperated, and none of them continued in numbers anywhere. Wee have received direccions from his Majestie dated the ninth of this month for permitting fowr thousand men to bee exported hence for the service of such forreine Princes as are in amity with his Majestie, notwithstanding any former restraint to the contrarie.<sup>a</sup> We doe redily obey and are now issuing warrants accordingly; and, when they shalbee redy and drawen together (which wee cause to bee don in severall ports), wee wilbee very diligent for dispatching them away as speedily as may bee, and for prevention of any ill consequences to the disturbance of that publicque peace which by the blessing of God and his Majesties happy Gouvernement wee now enjoy.

Wee esteeme it also our duties humbly to signifie to your Lordships that the Parliament heere having continued sitting since the xi<sup>th</sup> of May last, the season of the year requiring mens attendance on their harvests, the Judges circuits where the presence of many members of both houses is requisit, and other necessarie motives,

<sup>a</sup> In spite of a letter from the king stating that he was too far engaged to the Spanish ambassador to draw back, the Houses refused their assent. (*L. J.*, 24, 28 Aug. 9 Sept., iv. pp. 374, 381, 394.)

induced in many of them a great desire to gaine a recess for some reasonable time, which wee observing and finding that his Majestie (with great wisdome and reason) expects some reparation in his Revenues, which (wee freely confess to your Lordships) we desire should at the least goe along equally in the same degree, if not to leade, in order to the graces extended by him to this People, wee therfore gave way to their adjournement, and soe both Houses have adjourned themselves to November next. This adjournement (as wee humbly conceive) tendeth to his Majesties advantage severall waies, no man to our knowledge being displeased therewith.

. . . . . And soe wee humbly take leave and remaine, from his Majesties Castell of Dublin, the 24th of August, 1641,

Your most Honourable Lordships humbly at commandment,

WM. PARSONS.<sup>a</sup>      JO. BORLASE.<sup>b</sup>  
R. DILLON.<sup>c</sup>      AD. LOFTUS.<sup>d</sup>      J. TEMPLE.<sup>e</sup>

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SIR HEN. VANE.

SIR,

. . . . This day General Lesley is come with his whole Army over the Tweede, wheare many of ther Regiments hee disbands ther accordinge to orders his Majestie and Parlement sent from hence yesterday to the general; soe as all things heare goe on accordinge to the Treaty very succesfully. Our general dispacthed on this morninge to his Majestie, who is alsoe usinge all possible

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Parsons, Master of the Court of Wards, Lord Justice.

<sup>b</sup> Sir John Borlase, Master of the Ordnance, Lord Justice.

<sup>c</sup> Robert Dillon, Lord Dillon, afterwards 2nd Earl of Roscommon.

<sup>d</sup> Sir Adam Loftus, Vice-Treasurer.

<sup>e</sup> Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls,

diligence to disband, the only meanes to take away all jealousies, and which I doubt not but wilbee effected. Which is all I shall trouble you att present with more than y<sup>t</sup> I am, *etc.*,

H. VANE.

Holyroodhouse, this 25 of August, 1641.

SIR WILLIAM PARSONS.

SIR,

I see by your letter and otherwaies that yt hath pleased his Majestie to place upon you a speciall trust in his highest affaires there, which I am very glad of for many reasons. I shall make bold to addresse unto you such things from this state as pass to the Lords there in the publick, and do beseech you for such speedy retorne as tynes may afford and the case requires. The bruite you write of touchinge 12000 men of the Irish raised here is a mere chimera, there being nothinge lyke yt in this place. No soldiours shalbe raised here except what wee commaund, and in the manning of them in pointe of security I hope wee shall give their Lordships a justifiable account. This governement yet stands not so loose as to have any thing of moment don without our allowance. I hope wee shall so deliver yt up to the successor,<sup>a</sup> who I wish may have a speedy access hither. Sir, I beseech you graunt me a few lines what wee may expect from our late dispatch to the Lords about the tyme of the Kings departure, and, yf you see yt fitt, move for their aunswere. The busines presseth us to a speciall care of yt, hoping wee have not so ill deserved as to be layde open to the clamorous votes of such as have suffered justly, though perhaps in some way that now falleth under excepcion. I forbear to trouble you further, professing myself, *etc.*,

W<sup>m</sup> PARSONS.

26 Aug. 1641.

<sup>a</sup> On the execution of Strafford, Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, had been appointed to succeed him as Lord Lieutenant, but he never crossed the Channel to assume the government.



## E. NICHOLAS TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I have receaved the honour and comfort of your graces 2<sup>nd</sup> letter, and therein the most acceptable newes of his Majesties gracious approbacion and acceptance of my unworthy endeavours in the trust he hath been pleased to vouchsafe to lay upon me; which, albeit it hath (as I have been credibly assured) drawne much envy upon me and set some persons, whom I never otherwise offended, on work to sift my accions past and to pry into what I now doe, yet since I have see good assurance of his Majesties gracious opinion of my dilligence and integrity, I shalbee carelesse of others mallice. Your Graces letter to the Earl of Portland<sup>a</sup> is safely delivered and herewith you will receive another from his lordshipp. All honest men hope that the quiet end there will be a good precedent for a happy union here, which God graunt; but without doubt, if any soldiours be kept together either there or here undisbanded, it will rayse jelousies and animat faccious persons, whatsoever the pretence may be . . . .

Westminster, 26<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641.

*Draft.*

## THE SAME TO SIR H. VANE.

RT. HONO<sup>ble</sup>,

. . . . Here is (as you say) very little occasion for the lords of the Councells meeting; but howsoever some of them have sate every Thursday since the kinges departure and have appointed see to doe untill his Majesties returne. But when the parliament shalbee adjourned, whereof they begin now to speake, I beleave

<sup>a</sup> Jerome Weston, succ. as 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl in 1634. He was Governor of the Isle of Wight.



there will not be lords of the Councell enoughe about this towne to sitt. Your honours advertisement of the Scots returning hence soe orderly and quietly att the day prefixed gives as much contentment to all good men here as it argueth integrity and honesty in them, and surely this will make all Englishe men set the better vallue on their brotherly kindnes. Wee heere merveyle that the lo. Loudun and the rest of the Scots Committees come soe slowly to you with the actes that are to be ratefyed in the parliament there; but our parliaments committees did not set forth from hence till Satterday last and will not be with you, I beleeve, till Satterdaye or Tuesdaye next. I beleeve you have there more frequent and certeyne newes from our Army then we have here. My lo. Generall now disbandeth some apace, but for ought I can heare they will not be all cleerely discharged till about the 11 of the next moneth, by which tyme I hope you will be in your way homeward . . . .

Westminster, 26<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641.

*Draft.*

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SIR HEN. VANE.

SIR,

. . . . General Lesly came into this towne yesterday, all the Scottishe armie beinge disbanded alreadie, but Monroe Regiment y<sup>t</sup> is left at Mordington; another Regiment is att Dumfrise and some 3000 men att Leith and Musselbought, and 500 horse in the villages about Edenbought. The first tow, they say heare, is kept upp until the garrisons of Berwicke and Carliel are disbanded, the remaindor of the horse and foote until the Englishe Armie bee totally disbanded, which they expected should have [been] done before this; and bycause itt is not, this day the Parlement sends the Lord Makelin <sup>a</sup> to Yorke to the general to bee informed of a

<sup>a</sup> John Maitland, Lord Maitland, succ. as 2nd Earl of Lauderdale in 1645, cr. Duke of Lauderdale in 1672; at this time a zealous Covenanter.

day for the disbandinge both of armie and garrisons, if it bee not already done or order given out for the same accordingly, y<sup>t</sup> they may disband all the remaindor of their armie att his returne. I am sorrie to heare the poule [poll] monye comes in soe slowley, thought itt is but what I ever exspected, as many of the house of Commons cann witnes for mee, and therefore itt will concerne the Parlement to provide and send downe moneys to pay the remaindor of both armie and garrisons ; and y<sup>t</sup> effectual order may bee taken for the same accordingly, you shal doe well to speake with those lords of the counsel y<sup>t</sup> remaine about London to call uppon the Parlement in itt and hasten them, itt beinge a business y<sup>t</sup> soe much imports y<sup>e</sup> good both of Kinge and Kingdomes, God havinge disposed and ended these unhappie differences amongst us above mans hope.

Since I began this I receaved yours of the 24 and with this you shal receive the proclamation signed for the Bill of Tunnage and poundage. I am sorry to heare the Commissioners of the Tresory are goinge out of the towne. I feare it is a signe ther is but an emptie Exchequer. Heare is much grieffe for the ill newes of the death of the E[arl] Wrothes, and I am sorrie to heare of the encrease of the sickness. Wee are now made to beleive y<sup>t</sup> all the Troopes, horse and foote, shalbee disbanded, the 2 Regiments of foote, the one att Mordington, the other att Donfrize, which stay ther until the garrisons bee disbanded only. I hope all will succede accordingly. And soe I rest, *etc.*,

H. VANE.

Holyroodehouse, this 28 of August, 1641.

You shal receive hearewith a pacquett from his Majestie. The Commissioners of our Parlement are come to Berwicke this night. On Monday they wilbee heare, wheare the Parlement hath taken upp for them on of the best houses in this cittie.

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SIR JOHN PENNINGTON.<sup>a</sup>

SIR,

Yours of the 28th present came the last night unto mee and in it an order from the Lords in Parliament<sup>b</sup> for my stayinge certaine shippes that are bound for Ireland to take in men there and to transporte them for y<sup>e</sup> service of the Kinge of Spaine, which I have dilligently made inquirey after and finde only one of them as yett come hether, which is Richard Fearne, master of the Hector of London, from whome I have discovered the whole business and what shippes are entertayned and cominge downe for that service. The particulers of them I send you heere inclosed, whome I thinke may better be stayed in y<sup>e</sup> river of Thames then heere (if they bee not already past Graves End), for that I am to returne into Dover Roads (from whence I was blowne yesterdaye) for the transportacion of the Queene Mother, and shall leave but one shippe heere for y<sup>e</sup> performance of that and other services, whoe will not bee able to man and send them back, in case they should bee refractory. But nowe I shall continue heere as longe as I cann to expect their cominge, being unwillinge to discover y<sup>e</sup> businesse by stayinge of this (soe longe as y<sup>e</sup> winde is not favorable for him) till I gett them together, or heare that you have made staye of them there. For I finde there is noe greate haste of the other imploment, her Majestie havinge caused mee to send a shippe for Dunkirke on Frydaye at night last with a Gentleman of y<sup>e</sup> Spanish Ambassadors, whoe is

<sup>a</sup> Admiral of the Narrow Seas, and Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, styled by Clarendon "a very honest gentleman and of unshaken faithfulness and integrity to the king." (*History*, ed. 1843, p. 272.) He was an intimate friend of Nicholas, and in his will, dated 14 July 1640 (Eg: MS. 2533, f. 95), the latter is named an executor, with a legacy of 500*l*. From the same document, which contains much information as to his family connections, it appears that Alderman Isaac Pennington, M.P. for the City of London, and conspicuous for his zeal on the Parliamentary side, was his cousin.

<sup>b</sup> See the *Lords' Journals*, 28 Aug., iv. p. 381.

employed from them both, to y<sup>e</sup> Prince Cardynall<sup>a</sup> (whome they saye lyes sicke of the Small-pox) for the procuringe his lycence for her passage through his cuntrey, for that Mons<sup>r</sup> Fabriollis<sup>b</sup> and and the rest of her Favorites dares not adventure to goe through Holland; soe that till this messenger returnes shee will not resolve when or which waye shee will goe, soe that there will bee noe time lost by my staye heere, for that I cann be there at fower or five howers warninge. Howsoever, I desire y<sup>t</sup> I may heere from you assoone as you cann, whether you have stop't them there or not, that accordingly I may proceede with this. The Countesse of Arundle,<sup>c</sup> beinge weary with the Queenes longe delayes, hath left her and tooke shippinge for Holland on Thursdaye at night last, but his Lordshipp her husband continues his attendance still, though much troubled with the uncertaine and tedyous. proceedings. . . . I have noe more to saye at present but that I am

Your very humble servant,

J. PENNINGTON.

From aboard his Majesties shippe y<sup>e</sup>  
St. Andrewe in y<sup>e</sup> Downes, this  
30<sup>th</sup> of August, 1641.

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E. NICHOLAS TO SIR H. VANE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

. . . . The Lords have this day adjourned their House till Monday next and too morrow y<sup>e</sup> Commons House intend (as I heare) to adjourne also till Monday, and too-morrow seavenight

<sup>a</sup> Ferdinand, son of Philip III. of Spain, Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands since 1634. He died on the 9 Nov. following.

<sup>b</sup> Luca Fabbroni degl' Asini, a Florentine.

<sup>c</sup> Alethea, dau. of Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, mar. to the Earl of Arundel in 1606.

both Houses resolve to adjourne till y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> of October next, as it is here said, unless some unexpected businesse emerge in y<sup>e</sup> interim. The sicknes and small pox is very much dispersed in Westminster and London. Mr Glins<sup>a</sup> house (which is neare Sir Robert Pyes<sup>b</sup>) is shut up, there having one died there of y<sup>e</sup> plague, and I heare Mr. Whitakers<sup>c</sup> house in St. Giles is also infected, but hee and y<sup>e</sup> most of his family are at his house in y<sup>e</sup> countrey.

The happy Agreement betweene his Majestie and his subjects in that kingdom is very acceptable newes here. Your high Sherriفة of Kent hath brought up betweene 4 & 5000*l*. which he hath collected in that county for y<sup>e</sup> Polmoney, and perceaving that there is a present occasion of much money to pay off our Army hath this day offered to make that sum full 6000*l*. and to receive it againe out of y<sup>e</sup> remainder of y<sup>e</sup> Pollmoney payable by that county, which y<sup>e</sup> House of Commons hath taken as a good service and given order accordingly.

There was Sunday last a Riot comitted upon y<sup>e</sup> French Ambassadors<sup>d</sup> House by neare 100 persons, whereof some are apprehended, and a strict comand is given by the House of Peers for apprehending of y<sup>e</sup> rest.<sup>e</sup> The comocion arose upon a distribucion of y<sup>e</sup> Ambassadors charity to some poore at his doore and grew to that height that hee was in some danger in his owne house. The 2 Lord

<sup>a</sup> John Glynn, M.P. and Recorder for Westminster.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Robert Pye, auditor of the Receipt of the Exchequer; or his son, Sir Robert Pye, jun. who married Anne, dau. of John Hampden. Leave of absence was granted to the younger Sir Robert, who was M.P. for Woodstock, on 9 Aug., "in regard that his daughter is visited with the small pox." (*C. J.*, ii. p. 246.)

<sup>c</sup> Perhaps Laurence Whitaker, M.P. for Oakhampton.

<sup>d</sup> Jacques d'Estampes, Marquis de la Ferté-Imbault, who arrived in London on 18 July.

<sup>e</sup> They were sentenced to stand in the pillory for an hour before the ambassador's house, to ask his pardon on their knees, and to be whipped; but at the ambassador's intercession the last penalty was remitted. (*L. J.*, 30 Aug. 6, 8 Sept., iv. pp. 384, 389, 390.)



Chamberlaines<sup>a</sup> were y<sup>e</sup> next day sent by y<sup>e</sup> Parliament, together with y<sup>e</sup> Earl of Warwick and Lord Mandevill, to signify how sensible y<sup>e</sup> house was of the affront and how ready they woud bee to doe y<sup>e</sup> Ambassador right by punishing y<sup>e</sup> offenders. I shall not trouble your Honour any more at present but rest, etc.,

E. N.

Westminster, 31 Aug., 1641.

*Copy.*

THOMAS WEBB.

SIR,

I have receaved your third favor, dated the 31<sup>th</sup> last, y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> of this present, soe sealed upp that I believe you ment it should passe y<sup>e</sup> Scotch armie unforc'd, and I daresay none here have bine Secretaries long enough by art to open any such fortification without being grossly seene. Therfore what you have hetherto written is safely come to y<sup>e</sup> hands of a Capucine, and I wish I could in retourn write something worthy of you ; but this last weeke we have stuck all uppon one busnesse concerning y<sup>e</sup> Officers,<sup>b</sup> which hath not yet a dispatch. Too morrow (though every Munday uses to be a play day to this Parlement) 'tis expected that it wilbe absolutely concluded and as y<sup>e</sup> King hath offer'd, which you will see by this inclosed, and y<sup>e</sup> summe wherof I sent y<sup>e</sup> last week to Mr. Warwick,<sup>c</sup> who I presume did acquaint you with itt, and excuse my boldnesse for y<sup>e</sup> emptie covers addresse(d) to you. Ther is something in this busnesse more then I can understand ; for, when they sent this demand to y<sup>e</sup> King at London, it was soe hopelesse a one

<sup>a</sup> The Earl of Lindsey, Lord Great Chamberlain, and the Earl of Essex, Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

<sup>b</sup> The Officers of State, etc., in whose appointment the Scotch parliament claimed a voice, as against the exclusive exercise of the royal prerogative.

<sup>c</sup> Philip, afterwards Sir Philip Warwick, Clerk of the Signet and M.P. for New Radnor, author of well-known Memoirs.



that they gave order to ther Commissioners not much to stick uppon it, but to take any answer y<sup>e</sup> King would make to it, and now, when this is granted, they would have more. Fearing ther is to much power left to counsellors, they desir those choosen in y<sup>e</sup> interregnum of parlements might at y<sup>e</sup> next parlement lay doune ther places and that a new choice might be made of them or some fitter men in Parlement. Ther is noe buckler safe enough to feare, nor for y<sup>e</sup> ill deserver. Therefore they will never be secure. And 'tis this fearfull desease that continues the armie, keeps upp Montross, and Traquaire out ; for, were y<sup>e</sup> soldiers disbanded and these men in freedome, you would see a strange turn in this kingdome. For here are many that have heavy burthens uppon them, who dare not grown untill they see a king with more power to ease them. Yet y<sup>e</sup> Earle of Pearth<sup>a</sup> said to some of y<sup>e</sup> greatest of them, " If this be that you call Liberty, God send me y<sup>e</sup> old slavery againe." The Scotch sent 10 dayes since one to see y<sup>e</sup> English army disbanded, and now my Lord Grandison is come to y<sup>e</sup> same purpose hether to release y<sup>e</sup> common soldier, who thincks himselfe in bondage ; and my Lord Rothes his regiment since they came home were soe bold [as] to disband themselves. One such other example will turn y<sup>e</sup> scales and allready makes some of y<sup>e</sup> greate ons come in to y<sup>e</sup> King. For the man that steres all,<sup>b</sup> he is not much envyed by any body that I know. Some ills are to be cured by such remedies as were ther cause, and soe I believe this greatnesse and noe otherwise ; for I thinck y<sup>e</sup> gentleman can not bragg that he hath stered him into his office yet.

Our retourn from hence is very uncertaine, and I feare it will much depend uppon what assurance of welcome we shall have from home in more then beare words. My Lord was halfe a day deadly

<sup>a</sup> John Drummond, 2nd Earl of Perth, succ. in 1611; a royalist, and one of those who had signed Montrose's "Band of Cumbernauld."

<sup>b</sup> According to an endorsement by Nicholas, Lord Loudoun is intended.

sick with eating soland goose, but is well escaped it, and I hope to doe you service, and soe he commanded me to tell you, and I dare say 'tis soe intended. . . . .

Your humble servant,

THO. WEBB.

September y<sup>e</sup> 5th, 1641.

ENDYMION PORTER.<sup>a</sup>

MUCH HONORED FREND,

. . . . Wee have no certaintie of our returne, for his majesties businesses runn in the wonted channell, suttile designes of gaineing the popular opinion and weake executions for the uphowlding of monarkie. The king is yet perswaded to howld owte, but within twoo or three dayes must yeld to all; and here are legislators that knowe howe to handle him, for theye have his bosom frend sure and playe theire game as hee directs them, that seese bothe. Traquare dares not appeare; and, though Montrosse bee in howlde, hee is soe gallant a gentleman and soe well beloved as they will bee fearfull to meddle with him, but will keepe him upp soe long as the king is here, for theye imagin hee would turne Cesarian. I take the bowldnes to mention you nowe and then to his Majestie and hee speakes most gratiousslie of you. I praye God bless him and send him quicklie and safe into England, where I am sure they desier him hartilie at this tyme. . . . .

Your faithfull frend and humble servaunt,

ENDYMION PORTER.

Edinburgh, this 7<sup>th</sup> of September, 1641.

<sup>a</sup> Groom of the Bedchamber and M.P. for Droitwich. Leave of absence was granted him to attend the king to Scotland on 2 Aug. (*C. J.*, ii. p. 232.) He was voted "one that is conceived to give dangerous counsel," 15 Feb. 1642, and disabled from sitting, 10 Mar. 1643. (*Ibid.* pp. 433, 997.)

SIR HEN. VANE.

SIR,

This day hath been solemnised heare as day of thankesgivinge ; his Majestie hath heard too sermons, sunge many pshalmes accordinge to the mannor of the Scottish kyrke and with as great attention as ever I sawe him heare antym or loude service. Mr. Henderson preached,<sup>a</sup> and did plainly and home, without flatterie and yett discretly. The motions of Parlements are slow, and I begin now to bee of opinion y<sup>t</sup> 20 dayes from hence wilbee the sonest y<sup>t</sup> can bee hoped his Majestie cann leave this place. . . .

Your affectionate friend to his power,

H. VANE.

Holyrood house, this 7 of 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1641.

THOMAS WEBB.

SIR,

. . . . I left out of my letter yesterday this copie of y<sup>e</sup> kings answer to y<sup>e</sup> parlement here about y<sup>e</sup> officers, and it is now to noe purpose. Y<sup>e</sup> house haveing formalized uppon it, y<sup>e</sup> king hath recalled it and granted y<sup>e</sup> article as it was offer'd to him at London, which hath not begott a little trouble to some. For y<sup>e</sup> kings answer goeing farther then was asked made them presume to aske more, but now they have ther owne desir they are against ther wills concluded, unlesse they can start out how their desir ought to be interpreted, which we shall know tomorrow, y<sup>e</sup> day that they have taken to give y<sup>e</sup> king thancks for this grant. All y<sup>e</sup> lords but six are fully satisfied. My lord Ancrams<sup>b</sup> sonn is one; another is

<sup>a</sup> Only in the morning. The second sermon was by Mr. Matthew Wymeas, or Wemyss, Minister of Canongate (Balfour, iii. p. 59).

<sup>b</sup> Robert Ker of Nisbet, cr. Earl of Ancram in 1633; a fervid Royalist. His elder son, William, on the contrary (who, having married Anne, Countess of Lothian in her own right, was cr. Earl of Lothian in 1631), was "amongst those who upon all occasions carried the rebellion highest, and shewed the most implacable malice to the person of the king" (Clarendon, p. 663).

a cosine germains of S<sup>r</sup> R. Gourdots<sup>a</sup> Dukes (*sic*). Y<sup>e</sup> petty Barons and Burgesse are in a greate pawse what to doe, but I say we shall know too morrow. I have asked S<sup>r</sup> Robert of his news to Salsbury, and he swears he never heard a silable of it before I told it him, but that he heard from Salsbury that my Lord Montrosse was executed. Ther are some that raises news to ther partyes advantage, and for such you may take these; and I will tell you more of Sir R. Gourdots news, which may be something truer, that my Lord Lenerick<sup>b</sup> shall quit his secretaries place to my Lord Loudone and be Treasurer here in my Lord Traquairs roome. This I believe if they can bring to passe they wilbe pleased with, and I wishe this were and much more, for y<sup>e</sup> next wish after, and that but a moderate one, that all men were seene in ther owne coulours . . . .

Your humble servant,

THO. WEBB.

September y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup>, 1641.

*Enclosure :—*

Wheras ther is an article in y<sup>e</sup> treatie anent y<sup>e</sup> placeing of officers of state, councellors and cessioners, wherof y<sup>e</sup> answer is remitted to y<sup>e</sup> determination of us and this parlement, Wee, willing to give this our native kingdome all satisfaction possible that fitt and qualified persons shall allwayes fill those places, and therfore considering that our residence (because of our greate affairs) wilbe more ordinarie in England then here, wherby y<sup>e</sup> qualification of persons may not at all tymes be soe well known unto us; therfore we are pleased to declare for our selfe and our successors that we will nominate and make choice of such able and qualified persons as shalbe fittest for our service and may give most contentment to y<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Probably Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown, cr. Bart. in 1625; Vice-Chamberlain of Scotland, 1630. The meaning of the expression "S<sup>r</sup> R. Gourdots Dukes" is not apparent.

<sup>b</sup> William Hamilton, brother of the Marquis of Hamilton, cr. Earl of Lanark in 1639; Secretary of State for Scotland, 1640.

parlements, which nomination and choice we will make with y<sup>e</sup> advice and aprobaton of y<sup>e</sup> parlements during ther sitting, and in y<sup>e</sup> intervalles betweene parlementes we will chuse and nominate officers of state and counsellors with y<sup>e</sup> advice and aprobaton of y<sup>e</sup> counsell, all of which number being tymously warned to meete ther anent, and soe y<sup>e</sup> cessioners with ther advice and aprobaton. And y<sup>e</sup> officers of state, councellors and lords of y<sup>e</sup> cession shalbe provided at vitam and they all shalbe lyable to the censure of us and y<sup>e</sup> parlements.

Three of these papers were deliverd in for y<sup>e</sup> Peers, petty Barons and Burgesses.

SIR JOHN PENNINGTON.

MY DERE FRIENDE,

Yours of the first of this present came to mee just as I was settinge sayle with the Queene Mother for Flushing, which hindred mee from givinge present answer to it. On y<sup>e</sup> second of this present at 8 of the clock at night her Majestie was resolved to imbarke y<sup>e</sup> next morninge for Dunkirke; but afterwards y<sup>t</sup> night heere arived in the Roade by mee a states man of warr, sent by Mons<sup>r</sup> Bredrowe<sup>a</sup> from Flushing with a letter to mee to signifie that hee had attended there above 3 weeks the cominge of her Majestie with 4 of their principall yaughes by order from his Excelencie and the States, and in regarde that hee heard divers reports, some y<sup>t</sup> shee was sick and others y<sup>t</sup> shee was gone for Flanders, desired mee to informe him y<sup>e</sup> trueth of it. Where upon y<sup>e</sup> next morninge early I went ashoare to y<sup>e</sup> Queene and had admittance to her beddesyde, where I read my letter to her, which after shee had heard shee sent for her Learned Counsell Mons<sup>r</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Jan Wolfert van Brederode, Heer van Cloetingen, Field-Marshal of the army of the United Provinces. He had recently been one of the Dutch Ambassadors to England, to arrange the marriage of the Princess Mary with William, Prince of Orange.



Fabryolis and Mons<sup>r</sup> Conneue, and after a longe debate resolved to goe for Flushing. And y<sup>t</sup> forenoone I gott her Majestie and all her Traine aboarde, and in the afternoone sett sayle with a faire south-west winde, and y<sup>e</sup> next daye before night I landed them all in safety there, where her Majestie was bravely received by Mons<sup>r</sup> Bredrowe and Mons<sup>r</sup> Knuts<sup>a</sup> and others of the States, the Burgess beinge all in armes and spent plenty of powder with their small shott and ordynance. And her Majestie and followers were bravely entertayned upon the charge of the States, which will bee continued to them soe longe as they are in their terry-tories. The younge Prince of Orrange came from his Father the 6<sup>th</sup> present from the Armie (whoe are nowe in Flanders, but as then not sett downe before any place) to kisse her Majesties hands, and returned back the same night, but was feasted at dinner by the States and Burgers in the Townehowse, where I dynd with him. And heere inclosed I send you his letter to his wife or mistress, our Princes Mary, two others for the Queene, one for the Prince, one for y<sup>e</sup> Kinge, one for Mr. Pymm, and for your selfe, and for Mons<sup>r</sup> de Vantelett, all which I praye cause suddainly to bee delivered.

I sett sayle from Flushing the 7<sup>th</sup> present, and the same daye the Queene imbarck't for Dorte. After I was under sayle the Duke of Luenenburg and his brother with their retinue followed mee in a boate to desire passage of mee for England, whome I received aboarde, and landed them at Dover y<sup>e</sup> last night. Thus havinge given you an accompt of my voyage, for present kisse your handes and remaine

Your most affectionate friend and humble servante,

J. PENNINGTON.

From aboard his Majesties shippe  
the St. Andrewe in y<sup>e</sup> Downes  
this 9<sup>th</sup> of September, 1641.

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<sup>a</sup> Probably Johan de Knuyt, who had been sent by the States in 1638 as ambassador to France to reconcile the Queen Mother and Louis XIII.



## ENDYMION PORTER.

MUCH HONORED FREND,

I must beg your favor in sending this inclosed letter to Sir Edward Savage, whoe will present unto you a paper signed by his Majestie the which concernes mee partlie, as may appeare by the contents. It is a graunt which the King was formerlie pleased to make to mee and Sir Edward and Mr. Wyndham of certaine marshlands in Ireland. What the Councell did with the Irish Commissioners abowt such things, you maye bee pleased to informe yourselfe in everie particuler before you putt the seale to the letter, for I would not have you put your selfe to the hazard of a sensure by our greate secretarie here for more then twentie such businesses are worthe. 'Tis true I have spent monnies in findeing the marsh for the King, and manie other reasons which make the graunt verrie just to mee; but, Sir, I beseech you, beleeve me, I love you beyond anie benefitt and cannot deserve anie thing from good men, if I should desier anie thing of you which maye bee inconvenient. Thus much I thaught good to advertise you, not knowing what the desier of gaine maye leade other men to doo; but I praye you take no notice of what I saye here, but doo in the busines what justly you maye, and I shall bee obliged unto you for it.

Since my laste unto you there is nothing of newes, but one and the same delaye, to bring the King to bee wearie of stayeing here and soe to yeld to all theye desier (which hee is most apt to doo) and soe to streighten tyme, as hee must leave all such as have appeared contrarie to the humors of the covenanters to bee judged by them, which maye cost som of them deare. And they that scape best will repent that ever theye shewde themselves for the King; for the pubblick applawse oposes monarkie, and I feare this Iland before it bee long will be a Theator of distractions. God Allmightie send you much happines and give everie trueharted Englishman a right judgement to studdie the preservation of our nation, for wee are

like to see lamentable tymes; but, if there bee a fate in it, wee cannot discerne the secretts of heaven, but must submitt to all. I am sure I am and ever will be

Your most afektionat frend and humblest servaunt,  
ENDYMION PORTER.

Edinburgh, this 11<sup>th</sup> of September, 1641.

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THOMAS WEBB.

SIR,

. . . . We stick wher we were for officers, y<sup>e</sup> King uppon his declaration and y<sup>e</sup> Parlement uppon ther two propositions made to him. Our Commissioners seeme to wearie here and desir y<sup>e</sup> King to hasten his retourn, who I thinck is as wearie of them as his staying. I have as good a mind to be at home as any body, but believe, if y<sup>e</sup> King come away before all his businesse be done, he is undone. I lengthen out this letter with a booke, which I desir may be for your selfe and Mr. Warwick only as yet, because 'tis private from y<sup>e</sup> E. of Montrose his counsell to my Lord, not yet to be seene by his adversaries, who keepe him upp for ther owne feares more then his faults. Our principall Secretarie seemes not to be well satisfied here. He is past feare of loosing his Treasurers place,<sup>a</sup> for he saith he is sure of it; but, if he should quit y<sup>e</sup> other employment, y<sup>e</sup> King would not know wher to have such an other servant.

Your humble servant,

THO. WEBB.

Sept. y<sup>e</sup> 11, 1641.

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<sup>a</sup> He lost both his places before the end of the year, being succeeded as Treasurer by Lord Savile and as Secretary of State by Lord Falkland.

SIR HEN. VANE.

SIR,

. . . . Touchinge his returne his Majestie hath given out his orders y<sup>t</sup> hee will leave this place the 27 present ; but most of this Kingdome speake of the 4<sup>th</sup> of October, some who are leadinge men about 3 or 4 dayes before the recess, beinge the 20<sup>th</sup> of October. The 2 difficultys are the placinge of Officers of State, Counsellors and Judges. The Parlement presses to have them all new sworne and admitted, by which summary way they will expunge which of them they doe not like and accept of the rest. This I hope wilbee determined this weeke, his Majestie beinge content for the future to admitt of none but with advice of Parlement ; but this people are very stiffe and seme to bee resolute not to receede. The other is the proceedinge against the Incendiarys, in which Montroose is principally concerned ; for Trequahir hee is held for a lost man, and they speake of nothings but attaintinge of him in his blood and estate.<sup>a</sup> I have delivered the pacquett from the Lord Keeper to the Lord Howard<sup>b</sup> and soe I hope when you see us you will bidd us wellcome ; which I doe much apprehend the Parlements not meetinge not until the 20<sup>th</sup> of October will much retarde his Majesties returne into the South. And soe I rest, *etc.*,

H. VANE.

Holyroodhouse, this 13 of 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1641.

Havinge had occasion to waytte on his Majestie before the closinge of this pacquett, he tells mee the 4<sup>th</sup> of October wilbee sonest y<sup>t</sup> his Majestie cann quitte this place, and I pray to God y<sup>t</sup> day may hold ; for I am told by others itt will not bee before the fifttenth. His Majesties returne into the South standinge thus, hee hath been pleased to give mee [leave] to go to Raby Castle for

<sup>a</sup> He escaped finally with the loss of his office of Treasurer, but was compelled to give security for his good behaviour.

<sup>b</sup> Lord Howard of Escrick (see above, p. 15).

tenn dayes, leavinge my Secretarie Beere<sup>a</sup> heare to receave all packetts and to address them from hence to you in my absence. I have left 10 papers for Boxes signed by mee. I goe from Court on Wensday and shall come heither againe after tenn dayes att the farthest.

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SIR WILL. PARSONS.

SIR,

I receaved your letter of the tenth of this moneth, and therewith another letter to us the Justices contayning the Lords aunswere to ours formerly sent to them; for which wee are thankfull to you, though me thinkes yt is somewhat a cold one to us, who in that case of our honest and sincere service to the Crowne withowt any respect to ourselves or private ends and being thereby drawen into danger have onely resort to his Majestie and their Lordships for shelter and proteccion. But the freindly intimacion of your letter speaking somewhat better things comes as cordiall and gives us cause to acknowledge your freindly sence with all due gratefulnes, which I shalbe ever ready to yeild unto you . . . .

Your affeconate freind and servant,

W. PARSONS.

14 Sept. 1641.

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THOMAS WEBB.

SIR,

. . . . Uppon this Rocke (as you call it) of officers all sticks. The King did many dayes since intimate who they were he would recommend, but none were declared untill this morning, before

<sup>a</sup> Sidney Bere, son of John Bere, of Okenham, co. Berks (*Archæol. Cantiana*, iv. p. 250). He became Secretary to Nicholas, when the latter was appointed Secretary of State.

which tyme I must acquaint you what did passe and hath now happen'd. The King, as I wrott you word in my last, did offer y<sup>e</sup> Chancellourship to my Lord of Arguile,<sup>a</sup> or (as I am since better informed) y<sup>e</sup> Treasurers place to him, or any friend of his y<sup>e</sup> choice of either place, but did then declare that he was resolved to dispose of y<sup>e</sup> other himselfe to my Lord Morton, a person to whom my Lord of Arguile had obligation enough. From this day every body indeavor'd all they could to advance or crosse this choice of y<sup>e</sup> Kings, and my Lord Arguile is thought a principal man opposing. Wheruppon I heare y<sup>e</sup> King taxed him for it in a good round way by his ordinary; but my Lord Arguile had these tymes defence for any thing (his consience) for excuse. The businesse did rest a weeke agitated to and fro. Some said 'twas impossible and therfore labor'd y<sup>e</sup> King not to expose his will to a denial; others swore y<sup>e</sup> King could not be denied finally, if his Majesty would propose it like a man and stand uppon it. And by y<sup>e</sup> way, these swearers say that y<sup>e</sup> King might carry everything, if he did not undoe himselfe by yealding. This y<sup>e</sup> King hath heard of both eares, and I believe it hath begott a greate trouble in him. Allwayes he is once said to be resolved and to bide by it; and, haveing this morning<sup>b</sup> named my Lord Morton, this followed theruppon that my Lord of Arguile stood upp in full Parlement and opposed it, saying that it was very considerable to y<sup>e</sup> people who were greate officers, for by them y<sup>e</sup> Kings justice was to be distributed unto all; it behoved that they were cleere in ther judgments

<sup>a</sup> Archibald Campbell, 8th Earl of Argyll, succ. in 1638; cr. Marquis of Argyll before the king left Scotland, on 15 Nov. 1641. He was married to Lady Margaret Douglas, second daughter of the Earl of Morton.

<sup>b</sup> The king's nominees, 20 Sept., were Morton for Chancellor, Loudoun for Treasurer, Roxburgh for Privy Seal, Lanark for Seretary, etc. (Balfour, iii. p. 68). Argyll's objections to Morton are thus summarised by the same authority (p. 69): "1. In respecte such a publicke place might shelter him from his creditors, and wronge them in seiking justice against him. 2<sup>o</sup>. He a contempous rebell, and oftene at the horne. 3<sup>o</sup>. He deserted his countrey in her gratest neid. 4<sup>o</sup>. He was decreptit and unable."



and reputation, and free in ther fortunes and dependance, which latter he knew my Lord Morton was not, and that himselfe was much ingaged for him, and more, that he knew my Lord Morton had a protection lying ready these two yeares to passe y<sup>e</sup> greate seale. This could not but stirr my Lord Morton to a sharper reply then came from him, that he confessed his estate was burthened, but that he ought noe thing but what his fortune was sufficient to discharg, and for protection he had none, neither would he ever make use of one, but thanckfully let alone y<sup>e</sup> Kings gracious intention, which was to have bine in case of extreame rigour used towards him. For my Lord of Arguile, he should be freed of what he stood ingaged for him too morrow, if he pleased, though he thought ther was more due from my Lord of Arguile to him, haveing bred him from his childhood, haveing preserved both his estate and his honor to him, by y<sup>e</sup> grace and mercy of King James (and for this he called y<sup>e</sup> King to witnesse, who did it very hansomely); that after all these cares and benifitts he did little expect that y<sup>e</sup> reccavor of them should have opposed him in such a straine as was ther done before y<sup>e</sup> King and Parlement, to whom he left y<sup>e</sup> judgment of himselfe and my Lord of Arguile. Who was ready to reply that most of this that was said on either part was true and that he had not bine wanting to requite my Lord Morton, for whose debts if he had not taken order at this time he could not have bine wher he was to trouble them now. Therfore my Lord Arguile desir'd the protection might be recalled and then let things happen as they would. Here uppon my Lord of Amont interposed, the order of the house that noe private businesse should be treated, which y<sup>e</sup> King tooke upp and commanded that y<sup>e</sup> publique might be consider'd, and to have ther declaration uppon his nomination of my Lord Morton, who was a person of noble family and parts, and that his was a house wel affected to him and this country, which his Majesty did desir to restablish. Thus y<sup>e</sup> businesse ended for y<sup>e</sup> tyme, and y<sup>e</sup> Parlement is now this afternounge takeing

farther consideration of it, which I will add at night if this packet goe not away before.

I have expected a farther resolution from this afternoons meeting, but get none. They have trifled away y<sup>e</sup> tyme in by questions, whether y<sup>e</sup> King should name untill he were advised by them and y<sup>e</sup> like, which if they were granted they have in effect all, both naming and approbation, and y<sup>e</sup> King noething left but pronouncing ther likeing. Since ther comming from Parlement my Lord Morton and many other Lords came to y<sup>e</sup> King and intreated him to be constant, or at least but to leave them to themselves and they would carry y<sup>e</sup> businesse in dispite of the opposers. God knows what this may come to; for I believe allso y<sup>e</sup> other part will set upp ther stake uppon it. If anything extreordinary happen, you will have soune news of it, but I hope all well. . . .

Your humble sarvant,

[THO. WEBB.]

September y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>th</sup>, 1641.

---

THE SAME.

SIR,

. . . . . I could not find in my hart by y<sup>e</sup> last packet to tell you what became of y<sup>e</sup> choice of my Lord Morton, who with y<sup>e</sup> Kings leave hath demitted y<sup>e</sup> same, but by whose relenting that's not known. Whether y<sup>e</sup> King was gained uppon by perswation, or my Lord Morton failed in y<sup>e</sup> expectation of his partie, allwayes y<sup>e</sup> first nomination is crossed and a new choice made of my Lord Lowdon for Chancellor and of my Lord Amont for Treasurer; and this is againe opposed, first in y<sup>e</sup> chang of Lowdon, who they desir should be Treasurer because 'tis y<sup>e</sup> better place, and then in y<sup>e</sup> choice of Amont, who they would have noething from y<sup>e</sup> King, though he were ther Lieutenant general, because he was one of y<sup>e</sup>

Banditoes which subscribed with Montrosse.<sup>a</sup> This sceane is now acting and Amont stout in it, and hath spoke bigg words to Arguile himselfe, that he would not quit y<sup>e</sup> Kings honor done him as long as he had any blood in veynes for any mens pleasure whosomever, unlesse ther were better reason then they knew any against him. Many who opposed Morton are friends to this man, yet 'tis like to be a greate question ; and though Lesley have declared in y<sup>e</sup> general that he sees y<sup>e</sup> King ill used, that he served his country to settle religion, which being done, he would now serve his King against those that would totter his crown, this is very certaine that he hath spoken very much to this sence, but whether it be in earnest or to gett an earldome that I cannot tell. Allwayes I believe the best, because most reason is on that side, and y<sup>e</sup> soldjers here are generally displeased ; for now they have done with them they pay them not, but remaine in ther debt to keepe them in awe. 'Tis said they will within a day or two petition y<sup>e</sup> parlement and Lesley will appeere ther with them, and according to ther answer we shall heare more of ther minds. The tyme of our retourn is most uncertaine, ther being noe businesse yet neare agreed since we came. All lyes a sleepe at present but this of y<sup>e</sup> officers of state, which I am cleere of opinion with you in, what is done here wilbe a rule to us ; and I thinck it most just that a nation from whom a king injoyes all those benifitts which ours affords him should receave from him at least as much as an other place which yealds him noething but trouble. And y<sup>e</sup> reason they give of absence is but a flowrish, for they first say 'tis ther right and then that for exchange they would not presse it. Our Commissioners here have all that may be to make ther stay pleasing. First businesse goes right, next they are dayly feasted ; yet for all that

<sup>a</sup> The "Band of Cumbernauld," signed by Montrose and eighteen others in Aug. 1640, having for its ostensible object the promotion of "all public ends which may tend to the safety both of Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this poor kingdom" (Napier, *Memoirs of Montrose*, p. 135).

I heare they are wearie, but will not stirr above a day or two before y<sup>e</sup> King come away, which, if he keepe his promise to dispatch all businesse first, will not be yet these two moneths, which is a grievous punishment to one that hath learnt from Madame de Chevreux<sup>a</sup> “de ne se pas tormenter pour le bien publique,” which, if reason would have satisfied this people, would have settled much to ther advantage. But now it may be ther pressure uppon y<sup>e</sup> King may turn it much to his; but itt must be with some hazard, which God keepe us safe in that are here, for I feare all will not end in faire words. If Mr. Warwick be retourn’d, pray make him partake of your better advice then this, for I believe from the steeridge of this Parlement you may make your judgment of ours.

. . . . .

Your humble servant,

THOMAS WEBB.

Sept. y<sup>e</sup> 27, 1641.

SIDNEY BERE.

SIR,

. . . . I sent your letter to Mr. Treasurer this day, he being still att Raby, where his Majestie approves he may stay, which is one good argument we shall not make it long here; yett many doubt of it. His Majestie had said he would declare himselfe at this day, but it seemes it is deferred and soe Mr. William Murray, the younger, is stayed awhile, he being designed to carry that newes. In the meane time we have the Lo. Loudon confirmed for Chancellour<sup>b</sup> and

<sup>a</sup> Marie de Rohan, widow of Charles d’Albert, Duc de Luynes, and wife of Claude de Lorraine, Duc de Chevreuse. She lived in exile in England from 1637 to 1640. Lord Northumberland announcing her departure, in a letter dated 17 April, 1640, adds, “Happy shall we be if a greater loss do never befall this kingdom” (*Cal. of State Papers*, 1640, p. 42).

<sup>b</sup> The act for his confirmation was passed “without a contrarey voyce,” on 30 Sept. (Balfour, iii. p. 85).

this day he came first to Court with the purse. The Treasurers place is yett in debate and most concieve, if the Lo. Ammon doe not carry it, it wilbe put to Commissioners.<sup>a</sup> You will heare doubtlesse by some of the inclosed letters to yourselfe of the quarrell hath ben betweene the Lo. Marquis Hamilton and the Lo. Carre upon occasion of some words spoken by Carre.<sup>b</sup> The busines came to a challenge, which Carre sent by my Lo. Craford,<sup>c</sup> but since it is all accomodated, my Lo. Carre having declared in Parliament that he spoke without any ground, and soe a vote passed of the Marquis integrity both to king and country. . . . .

Your most humble servant,

SIDNEY BERE.

Edenburgh, y<sup>e</sup> 3d October, 1641.

SIR HEN. VANE.

SIR,

. . . . . I was in hope his Majestie would have held the 11 present for the day of his comminge from Edenborough, but of y<sup>t</sup> ther is yett noe certainty by the letters of 2<sup>d</sup> I have receaved thence. Yett I hope the 18 wilbee the farthest, for, his Majestie havinge now made the Lord Lowdon chancelor and, for aught I can understand, intendinge to putt the Thresory into a commission, his Majestie will not longer delay his returne into the south, his affayres abroad[and] att home requiringe the same. It is hight time all disputes should cease betwixt his Majestie and people throughtout all his dominions,

<sup>a</sup> This was ultimately done, the Commissioners being Lords Loudoun, Argyll, Glencairne, and Lindsay, and Sir James Carmichael.

<sup>b</sup> Harry Ker, Lord Ker of Cessford, only surviving son of the Earl of Roxburgh; died before his father in 1643. He challenged Hamilton as a traitor to God, his king, and his country. See an account of the quarrel in a letter from Sir Pat. Wemyss to Ormonde (Carte, *Ormonde Papers*, i. p. 7). The debate on the whole matter is given by Balfour, iii. pp. 81-87.

<sup>c</sup> Ludovic Lindsay, 16th Earl of Crawford, succ. in 1639.



and y<sup>t</sup> all intriguings and under hands should bee left. Jalousies and private devisions ware never good simptome in a State, and therfore I pray God send us a present and perfite unitie betwixt kinge and people. By his Majesties favor and leave I have been heare for some time lookinge into my private affayres, to take the best order I cann for them, since itt hath pleased God with his Majesties favor to cast my lott in this northerne climate. And his Majestie hath been pleased att my suite to grant mee leave to stay heare and to meette him at Newcastle; but the day of his Majesties returne not beinge declared, and the Parlements of England and Ireland the dayes of ther recess approching, I purpose to-morrow to putt my nose Northward and to beginn my journey towards Scotland, and as I shalbee advertised att Newcastle of his Majesties stay or returne soe will I governe my selfe in my journey. . . . And soe I rest, *etc.*,

H. VANE.

Rabie Castle, this 5 of October, 1641.

---

THE SAME.

SIR,

. . . I arrived heare the 11 att 7 of the clocke and found all things in soe hopefull a way of accommodation y<sup>t</sup> all discourse was of his Majesties spedie returne. But an accident hath happened y<sup>t</sup> hath putt us sine die, I meane his Majesties returne, which certainly none but God Almigthie knowes. For the marquise, Argile and Lanericke beinge gone from Court and Parlement uppon apprehension of a plott<sup>a</sup> to have seized upon ther persons in Court, I pray God itt make not a greate distraction, for the humors are upp. These lords have sent ther complaint to Kinge and Parle-

<sup>a</sup> This was the mysterious plot for seizing or murdering Hamilton, Argyll, and Lanark, known as the "Incident." Lanark's own account is in Hardwicke's *State Papers*, ii. p. 299.

ment, wheare itt is now in examination. This day the E. of Craford and coronel Coheran<sup>a</sup> weare committed as persons accused to bee of the plott. I doe much apprehend what wilbee the issues of these distractions ; I beseche God y<sup>t</sup> itt have not an influence in England and Irland, but to send his Majestie a safe returne, whensoever itt bee. And I rest until I see you, which wilbee God knowes when. I feare hee is offended with us for our sinns.

Your affectionate friend to his power,

H. VANE.

Holyroodhouse, this 14 of October, 1641.

THE SAME.

SIR,

. . . . Of his Majesties returne or the state of affayres I cann add litle to my last, for the three great lords are not yett come in, neither since this accident hath any thinge of publike or private been agitated in Parlement. The Chancelor is gone this day to the 3 lords to the lady Marquises Hamilton mothers, 10 miles from hence. What the issewe of this interposition wilbee, my next will paradventure tell you ; all y<sup>t</sup> I cann say to you att present is that his Majestie is overvoted in Parlement and all those adhere to the 3 lords y<sup>t</sup> are absent. . . . And soe I rest, *etc.*,

H. VANE.

Holyroode house, this 19 of October, 1641.

THE SAME.

SIR,

Thought your packetts of 15 present weare directed to the D. of Richmond, myselfe beinge uppon the place, yet his Majestie

<sup>a</sup> Col. John, afterward Sir John, Cochrane, whose father, Alexander Blair, assumed the name of Cochrane in right of his wife, Elizabeth Cochrane. His younger brother, William, was cr. Baron Cochrane in 1647, and Earl of Dundonald in 1669.

hath been gratusly pleased to returne the answeare therunto by my address; but I presume you did conjecture I might not have been returned from Raby to Court. His Majestie delivered unto mee the advice of the lords of the counsel for the adjourninge of the Parlement of Irland. It was wont to bee y<sup>e</sup> direction of the lords of the counsel when ther weare 2 secretaries to address those passages of the counsel table to the secretary attendinge on his Majestie, and, you supplyinge y<sup>t</sup> function, I did expect y<sup>t</sup> you would have held the same course, and havinge sayd thus much, you may heareafter governe yourselfe therin as you please.<sup>a</sup> Heare is noe more certainty of his Majesties returne then was when Sir Will. Ballantine was dispatched. I hope the Parlement of England will interpose and hasten itt, for they are not heare supple but resolved in ther wayes. The 3 lords are not come in, nor, for aught I see, are like to doe, unless they bee commanded by his Majestie and Parlement. Wee have heare advanced in noe businesse since the Chancelor was made; all y<sup>t</sup> hath been agitated in Parlement since the 12 [is] whether the examination of the persons accused shalbee in full Parlement or att a Committee. His Majestie would have itt in the first, the greater number of voices are for a committee; from which opinion itt is thought the latter will not boudge. His Majestie hath been round with them and hath declared unto them, if they will proceede in this manner hee will protest; they, it is sayd, will declare, and this is the present state of the affayres heare. Many give hopes and endeavore a temperament, but whether itt will take my next will tell you. You may lett my lords of the counsel knowe y<sup>t</sup> I have made a despatch for Irland to adjourne or prorogue the Parlement ther as ther lordships advise and have sent itt away by an exspress. I doubt not but the affayres of England requires his Majesties presence ther, and I hope

<sup>a</sup> This reproof was hardly deserved. It was by the King's own command that Nicholas, supposing Vane not to have returned to Edinburgh, addressed his letters to the Duke of Richmond (Bray's *Evelyn*, iv. p. 80).

the midle of the next moneth wilbee the longest time of our stay, as much sooner as itt shall please God and the Kinge. Our English Commissioners have this day declared unto his Majestie ther purpose of leavinge this place uppon Saturday next, and soe to returne to the south. Wee are heare in great expectation to heare whether our Parlement will adjourne or sitt, and wheare. And soe I rest, *etc.*,

H. VANE.

Holyroodhouse, 20<sup>th</sup> of October, 1641, 12 att night.

THE SAME.

SIR,

By my last letters I told you we hoped some temperament would be found concerning the examination of this busines of the Lords here y<sup>t</sup> are absented; and accordingly his Majestie hath ben pleased to remitt the same to a Committee, who hath it now in hand and will to-morrow make report thereof to the House, soe that we hope a speedy and good end. In yours of the 21<sup>th</sup> present you mention that the Lords of the Councell woundred they heard not of it from me. Truly I moved his Majestie to that end, but it was not his pleasure I should write any thing; otherwayes you may asseure their Lordships I should not have ben wanting in su<sup>ch</sup> an occasion.

Here are this day expresses come from my Lord Chichester<sup>a</sup> and Viscount Ards<sup>b</sup> of a revolt in Ireland, under one S<sup>r</sup> . . . [*sic*] Oneale,<sup>c</sup> the next akin of the Tirones, that he hath taken some townes, one called Newery, wherein is a magazin of armes and ammunition of his Majestie, and hath seized the house and person

<sup>a</sup> Sir Edward Chichester, cr. Viscount Chichester in 1625.

<sup>b</sup> Hugh Montgomery, cr. Viscount Montgomery of the Great Ards in 1622.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Phelim Roe O'Neill, son of Tirlagh O'Neill and grandson of Sir Henry O'Neill, who was great nephew of the 1st Earl of Tyrone. He was attainted and executed at Dublin in 1652.

of the Lord Caufield.<sup>a</sup> I doubt not the Lords Justices will have written thereof unto the Lords with you more particularly, in case it be soe bad, which cannot but cause a great distraction and necessitate his Majesties returne for to take such resolutions as shalbe requisite, which in such an occasion neede be speedy and vigorous . . . .

H. VANE.

Holyroode house, this 27 of 8<sup>ber</sup> 1641.

I purposed to have sent a dispaceth to you yesterday, but by his Majesties command itt hath been held upp unto this day. Heare-with you shal receive a dispaceth directed unto the lords of the privie counsel by his Majesties especial command, itt beinge his exspress pleasure y<sup>t</sup> uppon the receipte heareof the lords should forthwith assemble and meete, itt beinge of importance, for itt concerns noe less then the safety of Irland (if what bee advertised bee trewe), thought heitherto wee heare not on woord from the lords Justices. Of his Majesties returne wee yett heare nothinge, thought litle Will: Murray bee the bearer heareof. The business concerninge the lords y<sup>t</sup> are gone out hath been reported to the Parlement this day, and they have taken time until to-morrowe to give ther opinions theruppon. Itt is conceaved the lords shal returne to court within a day or tow, and y<sup>t</sup> all will end in an accomodation. God send his Majestie a safe and quicke returne. And soe resting, *etc.*,

H. VANE.

28 of 8<sup>ber</sup> 1641.

I have alsoe made an other despaceth to the lords of the privie counsel by his Majesties command touchinge the business of the 3 great lords that are gone from court, and, would his Majestie had given mee leave, they had had itt from mee longe since; but I must doe in businesse of this nature as his Majestie commands mee, but Secretarys have hard games to play att this time.

<sup>a</sup> Toby Caulfeild, 3rd Baron Caulfeild of Charlemont, succ. in 1640. He was governor of the Fort of Charlemont, where he was surprised and made prisoner on 22 Oct. He was murdered on 1 Mar. following.



## THE SAME.

SIR,

Your expresse arrived here this day, and I instantly delivered those letters which were for his Majestie. Now I must returne unto you the inclosed bills concerning the Sheriffes, which his Majestie referres to picke untill his arrivall, and will make it the dispatch of the first Sunday after his comming, which I pray, in returning the bills, acquaint my Lord Keeper and my Lord Newbourgh<sup>a</sup> with all, that their Lordshipps may be provided for the same. I hope to sett forwards on my way to-morrow in the evening, and to reach Raby against the time his Majestie wilbe att Yorke, where staying only two nights, as his Majestie doth, I shall advance towards London with all the diligence I possibly can. But, considering the deepe wayes, I cannot hope to be sooner with you then the end of this month; but my Secretary shall goe with more hast, for to attend such services as may happen in the meane time. His Majestie hath att length made a faire end in these parts, and on Wensday the 17<sup>th</sup> rides unto Parliament, after which he feasts the Lords, and soe begins his journey.

The business of Irland growes to a great hight in the North, from whence wee heare every 2 or 3 dayes; and this day an exspress was sent unto mee thence, which is the reason I shal not, I doubt, gett away to-morrowe as I expected. From Dublin I heare nothinge since the 25 of the last. God send his Majesties affayres to take a better ply and more prosperitie. And soe I rest, *etc.*,

H. VANE.

Holyroodehouse, this 16 of 9<sup>ber</sup>, 1641.

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<sup>a</sup> Edward Barret, cr. Baron Barret of Newburgh in 1627; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1629.

THE BISHOP-ELECT OF NORWICH.<sup>a</sup>

RIGHT HONORABLE,

With my best services. I suppose you have taken full notice of the resolution of the Judges yesterday concerning the direccion of the Royall assent for our confirmation. Nothing can be more cleare (as they have determind) then that my Lord of Canterbury must do it, the See being so far from voyd as that he is only sequestred not suspended, and that in those termes that he is to execute his jurisdiction by his officers and ministers, which was showed in my presence to my Lord Keeper by the Judges and received the same judgment from him. To which his Lordship was pleased to adde a very sharpe and vehement blame to mee and my Brethren, that we were so slack and backward in following our businesse. Your Honor knowes we have bene at least importunate enough. Leaving therfore the speed of this dispatch upon your Honorable care, and beseeching your effectuall remembrance of my Petition to his Majesty, I take leave and am

Your honors truly devoted in all observance,

JOS. NORWIC. elect.

Westm., Dec. 10 [1641].

*Addressed* :—To the right honorable Sir Edward  
Nicholas, Knight, Principall Secretary to his  
Majesty, *etc.*

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<sup>a</sup> Joseph Hall, translated from Exeter to Norwich. He was elected to the latter see on 15 Nov. 1641, and confirmed on 16 Dec. Other appointments made at the same time, to which he refers, were Rob. Skinner to Oxford, Brian Duppa to Salisbury, John Prideaux to Worcester, and John Williams translated from Lincoln to York.

CHARLES I.<sup>a</sup> TO SIR EDW. HERBERT, ATTORNEY GENERAL.

six

1. You ar to accuse those ~~five~~ jointlie and severallie.
2. You ar to reserve the power of making additionalls.
3. When the committie for examination is a naming (w<sup>ch</sup> you must press to be close and under tey of secresie), if eather Essex, Warwick, Holland, Say, ~~Mandevill~~, Wharton or Brooke be named, you must desyre that they may be spared because you ar to examine them as witnesses for me.

## JOHN NICHOLAS, SEN., TO HIS GRANDSON.

I received your letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> of Aprill wrytten at Parrys sent by Mr. Hickes of Weymouth inclosed in a letter of his ; but I was from home when your letter came, and soe have ben for the most parte ever synce, not daringe to stay in my owne howse, for after plundering of our horses and goodes by the Parliament sculdiers, they nowe take the persons of men whome they are pleased to terme delinquentes and not favorers of their accions, soe that we are in a miserable condicion, God (for his mercy) help us

<sup>a</sup> These instructions for the impeachment of Lord Kimbolton (Viscount Mandeville) and the Five Members on 3 Jan. 1642, are entirely in the King's own hand. With the natural exception of art. 3, they are referred to both in the answer of Sir E. Herbert to his impeachment, and in the King's letter on his behalf to the Lord Keeper (Rushworth, iv. pp. 490, 493). It appears from the erasures that Kimbolton's impeachment was an afterthought, the original intention being to call him as a witness with the other peers named, whom it was thought advisable to prevent by this device from serving on the examining committee. Although Clarendon states (ed. 1843, p. 144) that it was Lord Digby who particularly named Kimbolton to Charles, we are almost tempted to explain the surprise and perplexity which Digby showed when the articles were read by his ignorance of the King's change of purpose.

and send us peace. My howse was plundered thrice in one weeke and my very wearing apparrell taken away by bace fellowes, whome we could not resist, being soe many of them. They sought everye place in my howse for me, and my pydgion howse and all my out-houses, both at home and at the Parsonage, but thorough Gods great mercy I escaped them. This ys sad newes, but I hope God wyll sende better when I wryte againe. Lett me knowe whether I shall direct my lettres from tyme to tyme, because you (as yt seemeth) are not yet settled. I doubt not but you lyve at a great charg, and I have a wylling harte to help you; but as yet we have such dayly taxes and paymentes to the kinges armye that we are lyke to lyve in want, yf these tymes continewe. . . . .

Your assured loving graundfather,

JO. NICHOLAS.

26 May, 1644.

*Addressed:*—To . . . John Nicholas,<sup>a</sup> Esq. at the  
howse of Mr. Richard Browne,<sup>b</sup> his Majesties  
agent in Parris.

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THE SAME TO THE SAME.

. . . . . I have ben plundered of all my horses by speciall warrant from the chiefe commaunders of the Parlyament forces, besydes other thinges, and am worse in my estate by 500<sup>li</sup> then when you left me, with contynewall paymentes and byllyting of souldyers and such lyke, not having ben free untill the last weeke, somtymes 3 or 4 captaynes and 40 or 50 men and as many horses fower or 5 night and dayes together, and the day those remove as many more com in their places, soe that my howse hath ben in worse case then an Inne. If we saye they shall have any thinge

<sup>a</sup> Eldest son of Sir Edward; afterwards Sir John Nicholas, Clerk of the Council.

<sup>b</sup> Of Deptford; cr. Bart. in 1649. His daughter Mary married John Evelyn.

that ys ours at their commaund, some of them aunswere all we have ys theires and therefore they wyll commaund yt. This ys our condicion, which I hope God (in his good tyme) wyll geve us ease of. . . .

Your graundfather whoe deerely loveth you,

JO. NICHOLAS.

16 Novembris, 1644.

LORD DIGBY<sup>a</sup> TO SIR E. NICHOLAS.

MY GOOD BROTHER,

Never was there soe sadd a relapse into a desperate condicion from soe happy a recovery as y<sup>e</sup> prodigious surrender of Bristoll<sup>b</sup> hath cast us into, and y<sup>e</sup> consequences which wee apprehend from y<sup>e</sup> strange manner of it weigh'd with preceding advertisements looke more dismall, if not timely prevented, then y<sup>e</sup> thing it selfe. Truly, brother, it is not imaginable howe faire a game wee had before us; all Wales likely within few dayes to be happily settled, fondacions layd for a good armye suddainly, and such a designe form'd for y<sup>e</sup> reliefe of Bristoll within ten dayes or a fortnight as probably could not have fail'd us. But now all those hopes are vanished; all Wales in danger of being lost, y<sup>e</sup> Rebells having landed already since y<sup>e</sup> surrender of Bristoll neere 2000 men, and wee *put to wander again and trye our fortunes anew* But nowe y<sup>t</sup> I have told you y<sup>e</sup> worst, lett me cheare you a little by this assurance y<sup>t</sup> *we have at this present in being two Designes very hopefull and of that consequence. that, if either succeed, wee shall not*

<sup>a</sup> George Digby, cr. Baron Digby in 1641, Secretary of State; succ. as 2nd Earl of Bristol in 1653.

<sup>b</sup> Surrendered to Fairfax by Prince Rupert on 11 Sept. (Warburton, *Mem. of Pr. Rupert*, 1849, iii. p. 162). Charles was so incensed at the "monstrous intelligence," as Clarendon terms it, that he immediately cashiered his nephew and ordered him to quit the kingdom. A letter from him on the subject to Nicholas is in Bray's *Evelyn*, iv. p. 163.



thinke our condicion much impair'd. You shall as suddainly as  
may be receive a particular accompt of *them both* from

Your affectionate humble servant,

GEORGE DIGBYE.

Hereford, the 15<sup>th</sup> of Septemb. 1645.

COL. JOHN BUTLER <sup>a</sup> TO SIR W. WALLER.

SIR,

I had the honor to wayte upon his Hignesse Prince Rupert with a convoy from Bristow to this place; and seriouslye I am glad I had the happinesse to see him, for I am confident we are much mistaken in our intelligence concerninge him. I finde him a man much inclyn'd to a happy peace, and will certainly imploy his interest with his Majestie for the accomplishinge of it. Therefore I make it my request to you, that you will use some meanes that no pamphlet be printed that may derogate from his worth for his delivery of Bristow. On my word he could not have held it, unless it had bin better man'd. Sir, my interest in you by your former favours, and my knowledge of your love to his familye, has made me desire this favour of you, and, not doubtinge but I may assure him of your civilityes in this kinde, I rest, Sir,

Your corpulent servant for ever,

JO. BUTLER.

Woodstocke, the 15<sup>th</sup> of Sept. [1645].

To the ho<sup>ble</sup> Sir W<sup>m</sup> Waller.

*Copy: endorsed by Nicholas, "Coll. Butler to Sir W<sup>m</sup> Waller on behalf of Prince Rupert, brought to me by the Governor of Bristoll, Sir W<sup>m</sup> Campion."*

<sup>a</sup> Colonel of horse in Fairfax's army.

## LORD DIGBY.

Denbigh, Sept. the 28, 1645.

MY DEARE BROTHER,

I have nothinge to add unto the large relation heerewith sent of our present condition, but only to tell you and my Lord Treasurer <sup>a</sup> in private y<sup>t</sup>, whatever face wee make *toward Anglesey* or descourse wee raise of *the Kings takinge ship for Scotland*, his resolution is *with five hundred chosen horse presentlye to steale or breake through to Newark, from whence* wee make noe doubt by Gods blessinge of *joyning Marquis Montrose*.<sup>b</sup>

Sir Thomas Glemham<sup>c</sup> shall bee sent unto you as soone as is possible. As for Will. Legge, if once P[rince] Rupert were gone, the Kinge will be willinge to afford him liberty and leave to goe travell; and as soone as I can come at my papers (which were left with Staneere and all my other necessaryes at Worster, conceivinge wee should have come back thither) I shall send you the particulars of such cautions concerninge him as, joined to those which you have also had, will justifie the Kinge to all the world that in prudence hee could not doe lesse then secure him till the Prince were gone and the Government of Oxford well settled. I will not say but there may be proofes produced as well as informations. This is all at present more then to assure you that the Kinge is very well pleased with the carefull execution of his commands, and that the Lords are soe well satisfied with his care of them and that place. I rest

Your faithfull servant,

GEORGE DIGBYE.

<sup>a</sup> Francis Cottington, Baron Cottington, Lord Treasurer, 3 Oct. 1645.

<sup>b</sup> This scheme was frustrated by the news of the defeat of Montrose by David Leslie at Philiphaugh on 13 Sept.

<sup>c</sup> Appointed Governor of Oxford, *vice* Col. William Legge, who was arrested merely "as a person much in the prince's (Rupert's) favour, and therefore like to be subservient to any of his commands" (Clarendon, p. 569). From the terms used by the King in his letter of 10 Oct. (Bray's *Evelyn*, iv. p. 167), this harsh treatment seems to have provoked remonstrance from Nicholas.

Cherke, this 29<sup>th</sup> [Sept. 1645].

Since the wrightinge of this wee are marcht hither to Cherck to joine with the forces come from Oxford. Wee have had a generall rendevous since the fight, and finde ourselves very little diminished. Wee knowe not yett wheither the Rebells will presse upon us or noe; if they doe, wee shall bee well able to receive them. I have now received yours of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> and the duplicate of that by Dabscott, whoe is taken prisoner. His Majestie hath received some information of Colonell Tilliers<sup>a</sup> behavior in the businesse of Bristol, wherof till hee hath examined the certainty, hee would not have you hasty in conferring any command upon him. The particulars you write of to the King shall bee dispatcht as soone as wee can get a dayes rest any where.

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“JOHN DURDO.”

RT. HON<sup>ble</sup>,

. . . I will not presume to enforme your Honour of any newes from these partes more then what concernes your owne particular. If it be true that Dartmouth<sup>b</sup> is taken, his Majesties horse, which had their quarters beaten up at Tilsed<sup>c</sup> with the losse of thirty horse and six men, will bringe it to you sooner then this can come. I heare that the conclusion of your busines with the committee heere is this; your Honours mother is enforced to pay in the last halfe yeares rent of your Honours parsonage<sup>d</sup> with the abatement only of six pounds of the twenty-five, and she hath payd the one halfe of it allready. She is proffered the favour (as they stile it) of continuinge a tennant uppon the same condicions to them which she made with your Honour; but they will not allow anythinge towards

<sup>a</sup> Col. Henry Tillier, an officer under Rupert, and one of the commissioners for settling the articles of surrender.

<sup>b</sup> Surrendered to Fairfax by Lord Hastings on 18 Jan.

<sup>c</sup> Tilshead, between Salisbury and Devizes.

<sup>d</sup> Of Winterbourne Earls, co. Wilts, held by Nicholas, with the manor, on lease from the See of Salisbury.

Mistris Katherins<sup>a</sup> portion nor to the satisfaction of the Prebendary out of it. His rent they say is their owne, for they have sequestred the whole revennue of the Church. Mistris Nicholas hath suspended her acceptance of their offer in expectation of some direction from your Honour what to doe. I cannot heare where the Deane of Bristoll, your Honours brother, is ; but there is a report that he is taken at Dartmouth, for which I should be very sorry if true. His wife, poore gentlewoman, is in a very sad and miserable condicion. I saw her mayd in the market sellinge of rosemary and bayes to buy bread. The Committee doth not allow her one penny of all that belonged to her husband, either at Salisbury, Deane, or Bristoll ; yet she had soe much favour the other day (as indeede she is pityed by all, though not holpen by any) that the sequestrators which came to inventory her houshold stuff, findinge her not within, were entreated to forbear untill another day that she should be at home. All your Honours frends at Winterborne are well, but much oppressed with quarteringe. The poore Deanes wife, though she hath reduced her family to one servant made and a boy besides children and hath nothinge allowed her out of her husbands estate, is not excused from quateringe or payments ; but I hope the patient abydinge of the meeke shall not allwayes be forgotten. The poore gentlewoman in all her sufferinge is sollicitious to have her husband excused his moneth of attendance, supposinge, wheresoever he is, he will not be able to come to Oxford, if he be not there already as she thinks he is not, but rather in the west, where she is doubtfull what will become of him . . . .

Your Honours most humble servant,

JOHN DURDO.<sup>b</sup>

From my owne house,  
Jan. 23, 1645[6].

<sup>a</sup> Youngest sister of Nicholas, baptised 7 July, 1613. Winterbourne Earls gave the title to a prebend in Salisbury Cathedral, held at this time by John Gregory.

<sup>b</sup> From endorsements, "Bro. Dirdo," on letters of Dr. Matthew Nicholas further on it is probable that the letter here, as well as the enclosure, is really from Matthew Nicholas himself, writing in a feigned hand.

*Enclosure ; in cipher :—*

The writings you sent by Will. Gantlet have been shewed to the Comittee at the quæstionninge of my mothers estate and yours. The sale of the stock they allow of, because it was not yours so much as the persons to whome the debts and legacyes are due ; but they allow not either of the lease of the personage or the assignement of the rent to Kate, because you were, they say, a delinquent by ordinance before either of them was made. My mother must pay them the last half yeares rent of the personage, or else they will distraine for it, but she may be their tennant heereafter at an easy rate ; and, though it were better that she were soe then a stranger, yet I advise her to hold off untill she know your mind and our Lady Day be past, for there is little feare that any man will become tennant in the meane time, there beinge noe profits to bee had upon it. If you like that shee be tennant to them, shee will pay to you what shall be abated by them and that she hopes wilbee neere forty pound. All the money I have receaved of yours since my last account is sixty pound for the rent of your personage and thirty-six pound of your Hamshire rents by the hand of Mr. Greene, and fifty pound of Major Fowkes his money by way of returne to Mr. Crane, out of which I have payd myselfe sixty pound for a yeare and halfes rent of Wherwell, as you gave me leave. I shall be just in my account though desperate in my debts. I have not seene Mr. Greene a long time ; he feares to be seene in your busines or with any of the Kings freinds, the times are soe daungerous. This is the third letter I have sent you by cypher, but I knowe that one of them hath miscarried and I feare the other ; God speed this well. I pray sende worde what shall be done with your Trunke, which lyes buried at my house ; for I expect every day to have my goods carried away and my wife and children turned out of doores, my estate besides being ceazed on. I am upon going to Foscat<sup>a</sup> for security, not daring to stay here about any longer. I thanke

<sup>a</sup> Foxcott, near Andover, not far from Winterbourne Earls.



you for y<sup>e</sup> kind invitation and would come to Oxon with all my heart, but I dare not travail that way. My mother speakes much of her care to manage things to your thrift, and I am not wantinge where I can do any good. My poore and miserable wife presents her humble and hearty respects with me to your good lady ; thanks to you for y<sup>e</sup> kinde expressions to us. God in mercy restore the King or give him an heart in his low condition to make provision for his owne safety and his faithfull servants, amonge whome I desire you to mind ever with affection your faithfull brother

D<sup>r</sup> NICHOLAS.

I have given Will. Gantlet three pound from you and will take the writings into my hands as soone as the Committee hath done with them, but they demand copyes of them. I knowe noe safe hand in London, but, if you do, I can returne an hundred pound thither.

Salisbury, December 4<sup>o</sup>, 1645.

*Addressed* :—To the Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sr Edward  
Nicholas . . . . at Pembroke Col-  
ledge, in Oxford.

*Endorsed* : --From Mr. Deane of Bristoll.

#### ENDYMION PORTER.

MAYE IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR,

I did receave your Honors of the 3<sup>d</sup> of Januarie and yesterdaye I had likewise the other of the 14<sup>th</sup>, by which I understand your Honor hathe mine that gave your Honor an accountp of the Queenes answer, and I forgott to send you then my cowsen Graunts letter, which I have now inclosed in this. I am a sadd man to understand that your Honor is reduced to want ; but it is all our cases, for I am in soe much necessitie that were it not for an Irish Barber that was once my servaunt I might have sterved for want of bredd. Hee hathe lent mee sum monnies, which will last mee for a

fortnight longer, and then I shall bee as much subject to miserie as I was before. Here in our courte no man lookes on mee, and the Queene thinks I lost my estate for want of witt rather then for my loyaltie to my master; but, God bee thanked, I know my owne harte and am satisfide in my owne conchience, and were it to doo againe I would as freely sacrifice all withowt hopes of rewarde, as I have doon this. They discourse here of a journie to Ireland. I praye God it succede better then the rest of the designes have doon, and truly they had neede to think of sum cource, for businesses goe soe ill in England, as I feare our pore master will see himselfe in a wors state then ever hee was, if allmightie God helpe him not. It seemes your Honors frends the Scotts have sowld him, and yet they are his white boyes. And our grandes laye the fault on his not taking the Covenant and signing the propositions; yet I am of opinion they would have doon like Scotts had hee doon all the unworthie acts they could have desierd of him, If your Honor remember the second letter I writt to your Honor to Oxford from hence, I towld you in that how you were to expect nothing from hence, though at that tyme they made us beleeve here that wee should have tenn thowsand men presently and namede officers and sent Sir Dudley Wyatt<sup>a</sup> to secure the loss of all the remainder of our hors, which withowt hopes of such a supply might have made their escape and have kept on foote to this daye. But I am of opinion the French Embassador<sup>b</sup> and Montrill went to the Scotts and not to his Majestie, and your Honor will see that, when wee fall owt amongst ourselves, the Scotts and French will fall uppon us and devide us.

<sup>a</sup> "For Sir Dudley Wyat had been sent expressly from the Lord Jermyn to assure the Prince that such a body of five thousand foot were actually raised under the command of Ruvignie, and should be embarked for Pendennis within less than a month. . . . And, after all this, it is as true that there was never a man at this time levied or designed for that expedition" (Clarendon, p. 593).

<sup>b</sup> Pomponne de Bellièvre, Seigneur de Grignon. He came to London in July, 1646, but joined the Resident Jean de Montreuil at Newcastle in August, and remained there until Jan. 1647. He stayed in England till the following November.

The Spaniard and Hollander have made Peace,<sup>a</sup> and these people here are much troubled att it, and no question butt it maye bee an ocasion of rebellion here, and those that have fomented all the upprores of Christendom maye by the Tylers lawe bee paide in their owne kinde, for in this countrie there is as much combustable matter to take fier as is in anie place of the world, the whole kingdom beeing discontented. Bothe our courte and the French court are vehemently angrie with my Lord of Norwich,<sup>b</sup> and saye that hee hath been a maine stickler in the agreement betwixt Diego<sup>c</sup> and Haunce. But why wee should be angrie att it I know not ; for that Peace can no wayes retarde our masters, and in my minde that should bee the only thing all honest English hartes should looke after. Soe soone as I can guett a small somme to carrie mee into Flanders I resolve to goe thither, and I shall not sterve there ; besides, I maye bee able to doo my master sum service in those partes, and when I goe I will advertise your Honor of my departure, for by your Honors good advice I shall bee the better directed which waye I maye doo sumthing for our Kings good, and that I will studdie all the dayes of my life, whether I bee commaunded to doo it or no. And if the Independants would but alter their opinions a little, and saye they would have a king, I would goe to them presently and kiss their feete, for that were the right waye to despatch the busines ; but a pox uppon the presbiterians and them too, they wil not fall owt till it bee to late to doo our master good or to save our nation from a generall ruin, which I am afraide will bee the end. I am soe retierd in to the skirtes of a subburbe that

<sup>a</sup> Ultimately ratified by the Treaty of Munster, 30 Jan. 1648.

<sup>b</sup> George Goring, cr. Baron Goring in 1628, and Earl of Norwich in 1646. He had been ambassador at the Hague.

<sup>c</sup> Diego Saavedra Faxardo, Spanish plenipotentiary at Munster. "Haunce" is perhaps Johan de Knuyt (see above, p. 44, where his name appears as "Knuts"). He was Dutch plenipotentiary at Munster, and, according to Bougéant, *Hist. du Traité de Westphalie*, 1767, vol. iii. p. 126, was "l'âme de la faction contraire aux desseins de la France."

I scarce know what they doo at the Louer, and I want clothes for a courte, haveing but that pore rideing sute I came owt of England in, which shewes I am constant in my apparrell as I am in my respects to your Honor, and I am confident that when your honor shall take a survaye of all my actions, you will finde that I never alterd nor was fantastical in seekeing after newe frendshipps. I ever profest to love and honor you, and I am and will bee your Honors most faithfull humble servaunt,

ENDYMION PORTER.

Paris, the 19<sup>th</sup> of Januarie, 1647.

If your Honor direct your letters to Sir Richard Browne; they will cum safe to mee. The Turkie companie have presented him to his Majestie to bee their Embassador, which shewes of what howse he cums; and hee will carrie it, for wee love those people here, as our master ever did.

This Epigram was sent mee from London:—

The Scotts must have twoo hundred thowsand pownd  
To sell their King and quitt our English grownd;  
And, Judas like, I hope, 'twill bee their lotts  
To hang themselves—soe farewell lowsie Scotts.

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### NICHOLAS OUDART.<sup>a</sup>

SIR,

18 Feb. 1644.

Neither last week nor this yet have I received any letter from you; nor did I myself write by the last post, having given a letter

<sup>a</sup> This letter is written in lemon-juice or sympathetic ink on the inside of a sheet, the first page of which contains a fictitious letter respecting a consignment of serge. Though it professes to be from "Rob. Thomson, sen." to "Gyles Robinson," the hand is that of Nich. Oudart, and it is evidently addressed to Sir E. Nicholas. The cipher used in it has fortunately been preserved in Egerton MS. 2550, f. 52. The writer, who was a native of Mechlin, came to England with Sir H. Wotton, and took the degree of M.A. at Oxford 13 Aug. 1626. After being secretary to Sir W. Boswell, Resident at the Hague, he returned to Oxford, and was made M.B. 30 Jan.

for you to Mr. Cardonel with divers of the portablist bookes of those you desire. He went not then nevertheles, but sayes to morrow he shall without faile. Yesternight I hoped to have seen him, but he was not at hoam, so I left Vox Plebis<sup>a</sup> (the book in behalf of Mr. Lilburn), which is that I conceive you meane, and indeed a very shrewd piece, to the compiling whereof one or more much abler heands have gone then his, though he owned it for his in the Parliament House with great boldnes. I adjoined the Suffolk peticion,<sup>b</sup> which in substance is followed by one from Essex and one from Hertfordshire, the like from Norfolk, in which Mr. Andrews<sup>c</sup> hath spent paines. The design of them is layd by *Hollis*, *Stapleton*, *Lewis*<sup>d</sup> and others of that party to disgrace and heave out the Independents, and with a private end (as they say)

1642. He then became Secretary to Nicholas, and remained with him until the surrender of Oxford, when Nicholas gave him a flattering testimonial, 20 June, 1646 (B. M., Add. Ch. 4892). His exact position at this time does not appear, but later in 1647 he was acting as secretary to Charles (Bray, *Ecelyn*, iv. p. 183), and he attended him in 1648 in the Isle of Wight, where he was employed to write the King's confidential letters to his son (Warwick, *Memoirs*, 1703, p. 325). His Diary of the Newport conferences in Oct.—Nov. 1648, is printed in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, 1779, ii. p. 387. Subsequently he was Secretary to Mary, Princess of Orange (who made him one of her executors), Latin Secretary to William, Prince of Orange, and Charles II., and Clerk of the Signet. He was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, 21 Dec. 1681 (Chester, *Westm. Abbey Registers*, p. 204). Extracts from this and his other letters below are among the Clarendon State Papers (*Calendar*, i. pp. 361, *seqq.*), but the writer's name is not given.

<sup>a</sup> "Vox Plebis, or the People's Outcry against oppression, injustice, and tyranny, wherein the liberty of the subject is asserted, Magna Charta briefly but pithily expounded," etc. Thomason's copy is dated 19 Nov. 1646.

<sup>b</sup> Presented to Parliament on 16 Feb. (*L. J.*, ix. p. 18); urging the settlement of the Church-government in accordance with the Covenant, the preservation of the King, the disbandment of the army, and the regulation of the Excise.

<sup>c</sup> "337 = Edw. Andrews," in the key; probably the Edw. Andrews of Gray's Inn, whose name heads Dring's *Catalogue of Compounders*, 1655.

<sup>d</sup> Denzil Holles, M.P. for Dorchester, Sir Philip Stapleton, M.P. for Boroughbridge, and Sir William Lewis, Bart., M.P. for Petersfield, three of the "Eleven Members" who were impeached by the army, and who withdrew from the House on 26 June.



to make way for the King, whereby it becomes plausible with his friends, as also for the expressions of Covenant, Presbytery, &c., it is to those who are that way disposed. The King 'tis certain came to Holmby on Tuesday last; 2 or 3 nights they kept him at Leicester, where nevertheless the people insulted not, though at taking the towne<sup>a</sup> pillaged as you know. Multitudes flock to see the King and to be healed, which they suffer him not to do, though the people bring gold and ribbons themselves.<sup>b</sup> You may imagine the reports they make hereupon at hoame and the distast it will procure against the Parliament, which daily breakes out more and more for the Excise especially, the butchers in Smithfield refusing to buy flesh because some of them who burnt down the Excise house and books there (which others threaten to doe also in other places) are detained in prison. So we are like to have a Lent as well for lack of meate as by Parliament injunccion (which is much talked of) in favour of young cattell and recovering exhausted stocks. Yesterday the House of Commons entred into debate about disbanding the army, in which (as of vitall concernment) they were so serious as Mr. Speaker prayd the great number of those attending to gett a seale to forbear him till Saterday, for so long at least he conceived that debate would hould. Cromwell is dangerously ill of an impostume in his head, whereby his party now is the weaker in the House. The persons I named before (as Mr. Andrews tells *N[icholas] O[udart]*) persuaded the *Scots* to do as they have done, seing it otherwise not possible to operate solidly for *the King*. The King suffers none of the Commissioners to lodge in his bed-chamber, but puts out his candle and bolts the doore himself. Some of them write they find no hopes to remove him from his principles. The Lords here expect proposicions from him, and

<sup>a</sup> Stormed by the Royalists on 31 May, 1645, but retaken by Fairfax, after Naseby, on 18 June. The excesses of the King's troops stirred the indignation of Clarendon, as well as of writers on the other side (p. 552).

<sup>b</sup> An order of the Commissioners with the King forbidding resort to him for cure of the King's Evil was issued at Leeds on 9 Feb. (*L. J.*, ix. p. 6).

some thinck they would be well received. But they permit him not to speake privatly or write to anybody save when themselves are by to heare and see. Sir P. Killegrew<sup>a</sup> in his return from Scotland (whence I cannot learn that he brings anything of moment) took this errand to the Duke,<sup>b</sup> that the King wisht him to ply his book more and his gun lesse. The Duke is now indisposed; last night he had, as it were, an accesse of an ague. The other children are in health, and my Lo: of Northumberland very tender of them all. *Mr. Potter* presents his hearty services to *Sec. Ni[cholas]* and his lady. He is a true heart, and both he and L. C.<sup>c</sup> assure me *the Earl of Northumberland* hath no bitterness against *Sec. Ni.*, but on the contrary would be likely to do him kindnes, if occasion should be offred for it. *L.C.*'s accompt I sent you in mine of the 4th current, to which must be added 10<sup>s</sup> for a remnant of cotton, which then I forgot to insert. The charge must be 810<sup>l</sup>. 14<sup>s</sup>. 06<sup>d</sup>, the discharge 763<sup>l</sup>. 08<sup>s</sup>. 00<sup>d</sup>, the remainder 47<sup>l</sup>. 06<sup>s</sup>. 06<sup>d</sup>, which *N.O.* is to receive this weeke, with a letter from L. C. to *Sec. Ni.* A servant of *L.C.*'s lately married (not Mary), not finding her content in L.C. as she presumed, talkes a little suspiciously; wherefore *L.C.* desires *N.O.* to remove the damask bed and furniture, least it might be endangerd and bring inconvenience upon *L.C.*, which accordingly *N.O.* is taking care to do, but would be glad speedily to have *Sec. Ni.* his order where to lodge it, least *N.O.* his disposicion of it might be subject to hazard. No more then 40 pound hath been yet offred for it; perhaps it may yeild more towards summer. What price you will

<sup>a</sup> Sir Peter Killegrew, sent by Parliament with the answer to the Scotch declaration of 16 Jan. (*L. J.*, viii. p. 691).

<sup>b</sup> James, Duke of York, now 14 years of age, and, with the Princess Elizabeth and Duke of Gloucester, under the charge of the Earl of Northumberland.

<sup>c</sup> Afterwards under the cipher "374," which, according to the key, stands for "Carr 1." Probably Mary, Lady Carr, is meant, daughter of Sir Rich. Gargrave, of Nostell, and wife of Sir Robert Carr, 2nd Bart., of Sleaford (Trollope, *Sleaford*, p. 132). The Earl of Northumberland was a great friend of the family in its misfortunes.

not bate of pray signify, and the best industry shalbe used to serve you in it. The 4 bookes I have again and shall keep them as safe as mine. *L. C.* doubts not of *Lo. Bruces*<sup>a</sup> faire dealing still, which may be some consolacion in this difficult time. Not a word yet doe I heare about *Sec. N<sup>i</sup>*. his estate, whereas those of others, many of them, are disposed at least for present. Here is much talk of the Princes marriage, or being neare it, in France. 'Tis said somebody from hence is going to him, either Ned Villiers,<sup>b</sup> who is great with the E. of Northumberland, or a member of Commons. Conjectures go upon it that, if the Prince hearken to proposicions from hence, his fathers condicion wilbe the more dangerous. Some thinck this an underhand way to sett forward a plot, to be discoverd when 'tis thought fit, to scandalize the Kings party and hold forth to the people the Parliaments constancy and happines in their wayes. *Bellievre* Ambassador lyes at *Lo. Hattons house* aux escoutes, still acrimonious against the *Scots*, but for what end not easy to be guesd. 'Tis thought, if *Holland* clap up peace with *Spaine* without *Fraunce*, then *Bellievre* will do the like, if he can, with the *Parliament*. Of Ireland we heare little, because I suppose no newes thence comes fitt to be divulged. Lord Lisle<sup>c</sup> is at Bristoll, rather talking of departure into that kingdom then being fitted for it. I am tould the Commissioners about the King would not suffer the persens sent by the Citty to gett the Kings hand to S<sup>r</sup> Tho: Bendishes<sup>d</sup> instructions and papers for th'ambassage of Constan-

<sup>a</sup> Robert, Lord Bruce, son of Thomas Bruce, 1st Earl of Elgin. Either he or his father is highly enlogised by Sir P. Warwick, who gives a signal instance of his "faire dealing" with Nicholas (*Memoirs*, p. 169).

<sup>b</sup> Youngest son of Sir Edward Villiers, elder brother of the 1st Duke of Buckingham.

<sup>c</sup> Philip Sydney, Viscount Lisle, succ. as 3rd Earl of Leicester in 1677; appointed Lord Lieutenant, 21 Jan. 164<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub> (*C. J.*, iv. p. 413).

<sup>d</sup> 2nd Bart., of Steeple Bumpstead, co. Essex, succ. in 1636. His appointment was agreed to by the two Houses, on the petition of the Levant Company, on 28, 29 Jan. (*C. J.*, v. pp. 67, 68); and he continued ambassador at Constantinople until 1662.

tinople to have accesse to his Majestie. *W. Mur.*<sup>a</sup> hath (as Mr. Andrews tells me) puddled the cleareness of that buisines much by demanding and taking neere 3000<sup>li</sup>, as if without that the King would not consent, whereas Mr. Andrews had his assent gratis and so tould the company, who are now discontent and begin to thinck Mrs. Harwood<sup>b</sup> did avayle more for S<sup>r</sup> Tho: her paramour then the friends they inployd for Bernard. So perhaps the project may come to naught and S<sup>r</sup> Sackville Crow<sup>c</sup> continue, from whom Mr. *Hyde* tels me there is a large pacquet come for *Sec. Ni.*, but too big to be adventurd again hence to *Sec. Ni.* If therefore you will order *N.O.* any thing about it (who as yet hath not seen the same) it shalbe carefully done. One Capt. Marrow, I heare, is committed for abetting the tumult in Smithfield; 'tis feared for his sake the Kings party wilbe again banished from London. T.N.<sup>d</sup> hath a very fine byrding gun for you ready to send, and I have directed him to give it du *Vall*; but all your things, the 24 bottles of sack, bookes, &c., are yet at his house, though I have minded him frequently to dispatch them away. Mr. Adam Cardonel sayes that Mr. Fontaine will send anything carefully (and he sends often) to his brother at Caen. If you like that way, I will use it; for I thinck he is honest, though seemingly round. I beseech God for a happy end of these troubles, that you and yours may return in happines.

Your honours humble

ROB. THOMSON, Sen.

<sup>a</sup> William Murray, Gentleman of the Bedchamber; cr. Earl of Dysart in 1646.

<sup>b</sup> The same, perhaps, as the "Mrs. Whorwood" who was so active in furthering the attempted escape of Charles from Carisbrooke (Hillier, *K. Charles in the I. of Wight*, p. 130, etc.) She was Jane, dau. of Will. Rider, Harbinger to James I., and wife of Brome Whorwood, of Sandwell, in W. Bromwich, co. Staff.

<sup>c</sup> Of Llanherne, co. Caerm.; cr. Bart. in 1627, and sent ambassador to Turkey in 1638 (Eg. MS. 2541, f. 204). His treatment of his successor was made the subject of a pamphlet entitled *Newes from Turkie*, [9 May], 1648.

<sup>d</sup> Thomas Neville in the key; he seems to have been a cousin of Sir E. Nicholas.

## NICHOLAS OUDART.

4<sup>o</sup> March, 1649.

My last to your Honour was of the 25th past,<sup>a</sup> with one inclosed from T. W., another from your sister, and a 3<sup>d</sup> from Oxford for Mr<sup>s</sup> Blanchard. I have since spoken with the Patriot, who is absolutely of your opinion against sending any certificat to S<sup>r</sup> H. Compton<sup>b</sup> to the effect he desires, and it is *W. P.*<sup>c</sup> his opinion too, the rather because *Se[cretary] Ni[cholas]* is not now in office. Nor would the Blade be moved therewith, *the King* being now so low. They thinck therefore that *Sousas*<sup>d</sup> friendship and former merits (however he have behaved himself since he came hoame) are to be preferd before an empty Testimoniall, which may do hurt, can produce no good. *W. P. and W. T.* present their humble services to your honour and my lady. The latter sayes he was used weekely to have a letter out of the Bedchamber, but now is told he must look for no more. The truth is, the King is so narrowly watcht (and now it is rumord that a charge is preparing against him for his fathers death, &c.) that nobody can privatly speak with the King nor present to, nor receive from, him any thing but what his overseers admit.

Lo: Denbigh<sup>e</sup> and Lo: Montagu<sup>f</sup> have set two in close and continual attendance, who watch even what he prayes in private.

<sup>a</sup> This letter has not been preserved, but a copy of it is apparently among the Clar. State Papers (*Calendar*, p. 363, No. 2452). For extracts from the letter of 4 Mar., see *ibid.* p. 365.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Henry Compton, of Brambletye, co. Suss., late M.P. for East Grinstead. There is a cipher for him in Eg. MS. 2550, f. 34, as "ambassador to Portugal."

<sup>c</sup> These initials are interlined over the cipher-number 523, which in the key stands for Philip Warwick. So *W. T.* below, over 524, for Thomas Webb.

<sup>d</sup> Antonio de Souza, Portuguese Resident in London and a partisan of Charles (J. Bruce, *Charles I. in 1646*, p. 1, note).

<sup>e</sup> Basil Feilding, succ. as 2nd Earl in 1643; Commissioner with the King from the House of Lords in conjunction with Montague and Pembroke.

<sup>f</sup> Edward Montague, succ. as 2nd Baron Montague of Boughton in 1644.



M<sup>rs</sup> Harwood herself, with all her fathers boldnes and art, dares adventure no farther then Northampton. My Lo: of Pembrok,<sup>a</sup> 'tis thought; will recover. Sir W. Earles<sup>b</sup> list presented here as from the Commissioners at Holmby of such as they recommended for servants about the King was not liked, nor he for the favorable report he made of the Kings incomparable patience and sweetnes towards them. But his expressions to the Scots or their despaire in his mercy putts that nation upon strange thoughts. I am tould the Scots Parliament lately voted that, if the English shall depose the King, that they are not bound to assist him, and 'tis thought they will prosecute him very farr. They have not yet resolved upon their Commissioners for England. The French Ambassador had audience last Saterdag in the Painted Chamber, where en sousriant (as I heare) he wished a happy continuance of amity between France and this State, never mencioning the King, Queen or Prince, but in the end somthing of a wish too that the Parliament would thinck of a meanes to assist the Prince Palatines affaires in Germany, and that was all he sayd then. What he negociats in private is not known, but I heare he makes accompt to stay 7 or 8 months more at least, whereby it may be suppos'd he layes his designes deep. Here is a private speech of 3 queres come or coming from Scotland, vizt.—Whither this Parliament will continue to idolize the King; Whither incendiaries shall not be sought out and punisht; Whither the death of K. James shall not be inquired after. But of the reality of these I can affirm nothing; only I am tould Dr. Henderson offers his oath to prove the latter, so as that it will appeare the King now had a hand in it. With horror I write this, being astonisht at this height of impudence. The

<sup>a</sup> Leave was granted him to come from Holmby on account of sickness on 23 Feb., but on the 28th he had had a relapse and was too ill to be moved (*C. J.*, v. p. 96). He died in 1650.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Walter Earle, M.P. for Weymouth, one of the Commissioners with the King from the Commons.

petition framd at Sion Colledge by the Presbyterian divines and last week presented to the Comon Councell that y<sup>e</sup> Propositions might be presd, religion and the covenant settled universally in the kingdom, the King not sufferd to come nearer London for feare of tumults, &c., was received and comitted, but I heare not of further proceeding on it. The Citty is subject still to be ridden by every party and wilbe so rather then endanger Trade and Stock. They sollicit the Parliament daily for answer to their petition, wherein the Lords say they have done their part long since, but forbear to give it out till the Commons have theirs ready also. . . . The inclosed without superscription is from L. C. to you. I know not a faithfuller friend in the world, and be assurd of all helps (when you will imploy them) that are in L. C.'s power, and the like of Mr *Po[tter]*; but both are going out of towne for a time. T. N. by du Val sends you a very pretty gun of about 4 foot long for a present. And C. W.,<sup>a</sup> who is still at the Park and his wife lately brought to bed of another boy, writes he had by the carrier sent me up for your Honour an excellent spaniel with a rare quality of going back; at which it appeares he was good indeed, and at breaking from the carrier too by the way, who sayes he could not possibly recover him. I have layd out for another to send by the barq, if I can. A Greek Gramar I shall send too, Camdens I suppose you meane; but I will buy and send you Clenards too, if it be your pleasure, and Londons Accompt (a thing weakly done), another of the Cabinets (for I have sent one already), and what is yet wanting of the particulars for which I have your order. I like my Lo. of Norwich his service very well, and P. W. encourages me to it; but I cannot gett ready so soon as your letter imports. If I may have 2 or 3 months time, I will dispatch my intrigoes so as to attend my Lord, and perhaps it may be sooner, thereafter as buisines about Burlamachi and settling my

<sup>a</sup> 525 = Charles Whitaker; one of the persons allowed to be with the King at Carisbrooke, 2 Sept. 1648 (Walker, *Treaty of Newport*, 1705, p. 8).

mother in a way of subsistance shall draw to an issue. No such thing here in agitation as you mencion concerning the Prince, but as it hath been in wild discourse. If I can penetrate anything that way you shall know it. The new Ear: of Arundel<sup>a</sup> appeares now abroad, but about Lo: Capel<sup>b</sup> I mistook in my last; 'tis only a passe that is granted and gone for him. . . .

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EARL OF NORWICH.

Bruxells, March 9, 1647.

NOBLE SIR,

. . . . You will not heare I beleeeve agayne y<sup>t</sup> *Lord Goring*<sup>c</sup> is at *Paris*, nor that *Ea[rl of] Norwich* had ever any thought y<sup>t</sup> way; for y<sup>e</sup> next will informe you that *Lo. Goring* shall comand all y<sup>e</sup> *Englishe* heere, which wilbe 4<sup>m</sup> at least and good horse, though *France* have thought to divert him with other offers from thence, not out of good will to him but of ill to *Ea. Norwich*. Doubt you not of *peace* betwixt these and y<sup>e</sup> states, whatsoever you may heare to y<sup>e</sup> contrary. Our King and master I am most confident wilbe better used then we could exspect, for y<sup>e</sup> wyndes begin to rise on all sides. A litle time more will shew much. As for our *Prince*, better he were in *England* then in y<sup>e</sup> *French* army, where we heare he is going; but of this and all the rest you shall have fuller account by y<sup>e</sup> next, that being like to be a ripening weeke and to purpose in all quarters. Sir, I am ever vowed to live and dye your all faythfull humble servant,

659.

<sup>a</sup> Henry Frederic Howard, cr. Baron Mowbray and Maltravers in 1639; succ. his father as Earl of Arundel, Surrey, and Norfolk in 1646.

<sup>b</sup> Arthur Capel, cr. Baron Capel in 1641; taken prisoner at the surrender of Colchester, and beheaded 9 Mar. 1649.

<sup>c</sup> George, Lord Goring, the writer's eldest son; the General Goring of the Civil War. He entered the Spanish service and died before his father in 1662.

I beseeche you, Sir, make my appology in this pressure to my trew freind Mons<sup>r</sup>. Cardonell and my good goshipp. As for y<sup>e</sup> warrant of his Majestyes for my captayne of y<sup>e</sup> Gardes place, you shall highly add to your first favour of recommending me thereunto by keeping it safe for me and delivering it after to somme of myne in case I fall before, for I vallew it as hye as if I had it in possession, which these now in power will never permit.

*Endorsed by Nicholas: Ea. Norwich.*

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NICHOLAS OUDART.

MONSIEUR,

. . . . Pour le public, l'on demeure icy tousjours dans l'incertitude, bien que la nouvelle soit icy que l'on veut à present tout de bon conclurre la paix generale. Le Chevalier Pierre Kilegre est en nomination pour aller avec dautres gratuler l'Archiduc Leopold<sup>a</sup> et establir avec luy la correspondence de ce Royaume. Cependant on nous a fermé les ports, que ne pouvons proceder aux levées que nous faisons pour le service de France : soit que cela procède de l'ambassadeur d'Espagne ou de celui de France mesme, pour avoir sujet de l'empescher vers Flandre, de quoy l'on discourt variablement et avec vraysemblance des deux partyes. Le Sieur Lt. Général Cromwel fit vendredy dernier à la chambre basse le rapport de son employ vers l'armée, quelle debanderoit sans doubte, mais ne vouloit escouter au service d'Irlande, que la plus grande difficulté c'estoit de satisfaire aux demandes d'aucuns (les ayant luy adoucies de tout son possible), plusieurs se remettans entièrement à la discretion du Parlement. Pour ce qu'on causoit d'application que l'armée, ou aucuns particuliers d'icelle, vouloient faire au Roy, que c'estoit calomnie très fausse, et chose à laquelle ils n'avoient jamais songé.

<sup>a</sup> Leopold William, brother of the Emperor Ferdinand III., recently appointed Governor of the Spanish Netherlands (*C. J.*, 21 May, v. p. 181).

La chambre ressentist dignement ce grand service du noble Cromwel, qui non seulement avoit hazardé la vie aux actions precedentes, mais à present avoit employé si heureusement et sagement sa conduite à reconcilier l'armée au Parlement, ce qui fust le sens unanime de tous et donna sujet de mettre à costé le message du Roy, quoy que les Seigneurs eussent le jour precedent voté que sa majesté viendrait à Otelans [Oatlands]. Il conduisit aussi beaucoup à mesme fin, qu'une lettre en mesme temps fust présentée deciphree, venant (comme l'on dit) de la part du Sieur Asburnam,<sup>a</sup> avisant le Roy de tenir ferme, en attendant les secours de 20<sup>m</sup> hommes hors des Pays Bas, puis que la Paix y estoit conclue, et autres particularitez, que quelques uns s'imaginent controuvées pour detourner la disposition d'admettre le Roy, a quoy l'on suppose que le party estoit déjà formé. Il y a eu de la conteste entre le jeune Chevalier Py<sup>b</sup> et le Col. Greves par occasion de quartier que l'un pretendoit s'appartenir a Stonistraford ; et j'entends courir le bruict comme si les Independans ne voulussent point que le Roy delogeast de Hombye, ayant logé quelques Regiments à propos pour ce empescher aux contours de la place, en quoy l'autre partye ne reçoit point de contentement. Samedi le Bourreau brusla publiquement la petition que (*sic*) quelques prétendus bourgeois de Londres<sup>c</sup> demandants justice contre quelques membres de Parlement et de la ville, ce qui aussi fasche les dits Independants ; et hier au presche qu'ils tiennent en Colmanstrit il en fust parlé passionément au sermon, et une exhortation faicte de tenir bon pour la cause et de souscrire une autre petition de substance pareille que la première et de la presenter mardy, ce qui sera demain, dont l'on verra alors

<sup>a</sup> John Ashburnham. The letter is printed in the *Lords' Journals*, 21 May, ix. p. 203. See also Ashburnham's *Narrative*, 1830, ii. p. 164.

<sup>b</sup> Col. Sir Robert Pye, junior. Both he and Col. Richard Graves, who commanded the guard in charge of the King, belonged to the small minority of officers who favoured the Parliament in their contest with the Army (Whitelock, ed. 1732, p. 249).

<sup>c</sup> See *Com. Journals*, 20 May, v. p. 179.



l'issue, et s'ils seront si hardis d'offenser encor une fois le Parlement. J'ay esté saluer *Sir Thomas Fanshaw*<sup>a</sup>, qui se porte fort bien et vous baise les mains et à tous les vôtres et les amis du voisinage. Je le verray souvent et le serviray volontiers comme vous me l'ordonnez. Vous aurez cy dedans copie du serment pour *Se*[cretaire] *Ni*[cholas] et une lettre de *C. W.* [Ch. Whitaker]. *P. W.* [Phil. Warwick] attend une autre crise devant vous escrire et dit que les mots en sa lettre que n'avez peu lire ne sont pas de grande consequence. Lui et *W. T.* [T. Webb] vous baisent aussi les mains avec très humbles offres de leurs affections a vous et les vôtres. *T. N.* [T. Neville] de mesme, qui dit tous se porter bien a *Winterbourne* et *Sarum* et qu'il est après pour disposer de deux *Huntons*<sup>b</sup> a *Redin*. Je n'ay rien ouy de *Flandre* sur ma lettre que j'y ay escripte passé 3 septmaines. *My lord*<sup>c</sup> pourroit venir icy; *his lady* ne conseille pas à *N. O.* de se haster trop. *Jones* le gendre de *Cornellius*<sup>d</sup> vint dire hyer à un de ma cognoissance que *Coll. Norton*<sup>e</sup> grand *Independant* informe le Parlement qu' avec 800 hommes et *l'intelligence* qu'il a avec *Sir E. Hide* et *Carteret*<sup>f</sup> il est pour bien tost obtenir *Jersey*. Cela peut estre une finesse pour

<sup>a</sup> Late Remembrancer of the Exchequer; discharged of his office "for deserting the Parliament" in Aug. 1644 (Whitelock, p. 97). He was created Viscount Fanshawe in 1661.

<sup>b</sup> The "Huntons" were cousins of Nicholas, as appears from accounts between him and T. Neville relating to them in Eg. MS. 2558, f. 17. "Redin" probably means "Reading."

<sup>c</sup> The Earl of Norwich. He came to London in the course of the year (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* i. p. 402); and, after heading the rising in Kent in 1648, was taken prisoner at the surrender of Colchester, when he only escaped execution by the casting vote of the Speaker.

<sup>d</sup> Probably Jasper Cornelius, of Southampton, an active Royalist agent (Hoskins, *Pr. Charles in the Channel Islands*, ii. p. 245).

<sup>e</sup> Col. Richard Norton, M.P. for Hants; afterwards member of the Council of State.

<sup>f</sup> Sir George Carteret, Comptroller of the Navy at the outbreak of the Civil War; made Lieut.-Governor of Jersey under Sir Thomas Jermyn in 1643, in succession to his uncle, Sir Philip Carteret.

attrapper *N. O.*, car *Jones* est déjà soupçonné de tels offices. Cependant on le laisse à votre jugement d'en user. Et je vous demeure, Monsieur,

Votre très humble serviteur,

ROB. THOMSON, Sen.

Ce 24 May, 1647.

NICHOLAS OUDART.

MONSIEUR,

. . . . . *Lo[rd]* *Go[ring]*<sup>a</sup> le père escript à sa femme qu'il est très content que *O[udart]* se resout pour l'aller trouver, mais parceque luy mesme auroit l'envie, et quasi la resolution, de venir *in England*, il desire que [*Oudart*] aye un peu de patience, ce qui ne vient pas mal à propos, d'autant que l'on est icy encor du tout incertain quelle pourroit estre à la fin l'issue des affaires en deça. Car bien que le parlement aye voté le debandement de l'armée et que l'on commencera par le Regiment du general mesme<sup>b</sup> pour donner bon exemple à tout le reste, si est ce que plusieurs doubtent fort que la plus grande partie de l'armée trouvera tousjours à redire à tout ce que l'on a resolu pour leur satisfaire. Et ce n'est pas seulement la promptesse des Bourgeois de ceste ville a fournir les 200<sup>ml</sup> avec 40<sup>m</sup> de surplus qui a donné l'envie au parlement d'en demander encor 200<sup>ml</sup>, mais plustost l'apprehension de la nécessité qu'il y pourroit avoir pour un grand fonds de deniers, si l'on vient aux mains, comme cela pourroit bien arriver, et est d'autant plus à craindre, que toute l'armée declare son aversion du voyage d'Irlande. C'est donc ce qui travaille entièrement les deux chambres, le contentement des gens de guerre, et la methode de procéder au

<sup>a</sup> The Earl of Norwich.

<sup>b</sup> "Resolved that the General's regiment be first disbanded; that the time for that disbanding be on Tuesday next, the 1st of June; and that the town of Chelmsford be the place of the rendezvous" (*L. J.*, 27 May, ix. p. 207).

debandement. On remarque de la disposition en aucuns pour mettre derechef en délibération le message du Roy ; mais autres ne voudroient pas qu'en fust parlé qu'aprez le debandement de l'armée et satisfaction receue de tous delinquents. Parmy les seigneurs *Earl de Denbigh* et *Lord Say* opinèrent contre sa venue à Otelands, et Villoughby de Parham en faveur dicelle, alléguant que l'on n'estoit pas assuré de l'armée. *Earl Northumberland* ne voulut accorder que cela estoit une raison valide. L'on dit que le Colonel Greves se trouve comme assiégé avec son Regiment à Hombye, et en a faict plainte ; mais on n'y a point donné du remède. Il y a eu plusieurs commotions aux pays par occasion de l'excise, et tout le monde est mescontent. Si le desseing de *Rain-boro*<sup>a</sup> n'est pas accroché par quelque intelligence que nous avons en l'isle de Garsey (comme quelques uns font à croire), c'est que les Seigneurs ne se fient pas en luy et voudroient plustost que la charge fust commise au Col. Aldrige Presbyterien. . . .

Votre très affectionné et très humble serviteur,

ROBERT THOMSON, Sen.

*The King* ha[s] la lettre de S[ecretary] N[icholas], mais demand 5 ou 6 jours d'espace pour y repondre. Je n'ay rien icy de la part d'Andrews, ne l'ayant veu de quelques jours.

Ce 27 May, 1647, st. vet.

ANTHONY JACKSON.

SIR,

*In my passage by Rouen I gave you a full account by a letter left with Dr Baseier<sup>b</sup> how you stood in the esteame with the Queene*

<sup>a</sup> Col. Thomas Rainsborough. His proposition for reducing Jersey was approved by the Commons on 23 Apr. (*C. J.*, v. p. 154); but the orders were countermanded on 28 May (Whitelock, p. 249).

<sup>b</sup> Isaac Basire, D.D., Prebendary of Durham, Archdeacon of Northumberland, and Chaplain to Charles I. In the course of this year he left Rouen on a prolonged tour for the purpose of spreading the doctrines of the English Church in the East.

from the mouth of *Lord Jermyn*. I shall now endeavor to give *you* a more perticular from *the King*. I assure you rest high in his favor and, though some exceptions hath bene taken that you did not freely without invitation make *your* adress unto the *Queene*, that is washt away by a testimony that *you* were not accommodated for such a jorney without ether dishonoring *your self* or *your* maister. If I might ventuer to advise, I would not have you give any regard to reports; for *you* may be confident you are in a better condicion then *you* conceive. My deseier was to your sarvant that he would from me satisfie you more att large then I can for present writte. For our condition heare, who stand att gaze not knowing what will be the event, ther is dayly great concourse of people att Court without restraynt, where much civillity is afforded. The ould propoissions is intended to be presented unto his Majestie by the English and Scotch Comissioners the next weeke. The Chancellor of Scotland<sup>a</sup> and the Lord Lanericke is expected att London and comes along unto the King with the rest of the Comissioners. In short, 'tis much feared that the army will joyne with the moderate Presbiters, though the Councell of warre hath gott all power into there hands save only the disbanding of this Army. I shall soe for present crave pardon, if I abridge, being not yett settled. What was in my former from Rouen burry with sylence, for which you will much ingage

Your most humble sarvant,

466.<sup>b</sup>

Hampton Court, this 6<sup>th</sup> of September, 1647.

*Addressed* :—A. Monsieur Mons. Gibs, gentilhomme  
Anglois . . . . a Caien; and endorsed by  
*Nicholas*: "Mr. Jackson to me from Hampton  
Court."

<sup>a</sup> Earl of Londoun.

<sup>b</sup> "466, Ant. Jackson" in a cipher in Egert. MS. 2550, f. 5, endorsed by Nicholas "My second cipher with the King, Aug. 1647"; doubtless the Anthony Jackson, of the Middle Temple, who was knighted at Breda in 1650 (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 32102, f. 84b). He accompanied Charles II. to Scotland, and was taken prisoner at

SIR E. NICHOLAS<sup>a</sup> TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNES,

The fift of this moneth I had y<sup>e</sup> honour to receave your highnes letter of y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> wherein you have bene pleased to doe me the honour to let me understand that, in order to your princely determination to apply your endeavours for his Majesties reestablishment, your Highnes is resolved to remoove speedily into Holland, and have comaunded my opinion and advise thereupon. By what appeares to me (by the best intelligences I have seene) of y<sup>e</sup> present state of affaires in England and other his Majesties dominions I humbly conceave that your Highnes hath fixt on y<sup>e</sup> best resolucion, which y<sup>e</sup> sooner your Highnes shall now put in execucion the more (I humbly conceave) it wilbe for your honour and y<sup>e</sup> advantage of your magnanimous designes, there being in my humble opinion nothing that will put soe much lief and spiritt into y<sup>e</sup> oppressed people in England (who now begin to be very sensible of their want of their soveraigne) as to see your Highnes on the wing reddy for their assistance, as you wilbe understood to be when you are in a place where you may suddainely have all necessary accomodacions for your transportacion upon all occasions to assist and countenance their loyall endeavours for his Majesties restitution ; which makes me humbly concurre in the advise for your Highnes speedy remoove into Holland and wishe it may be with the more expedition in regarde, not only of the present great and vigorous appearance for his Majestie att this tyme in severall counties in England, but for many other reasons, which I presume those noble persons had in their consideracions when they gave that their unanimous

Worcester. He was sent to the Tower, 3 Nov. 1651; and was ordered to be banished, 1 Sept. 1654 (*Cal. St. Pap.*, 1654, pp. 273, 353). A petition from him (*ibid.* p. 18) is noted "Herald that proclaimed C[harles] S[tuart]."

<sup>a</sup> This is the letter of advice to which Nicholas refers in his letter to the King of the same date (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.*, i. p. 426). It must have somehow been returned to the writer, as it appears to be the actual letter sent and not a draft or copy.



advise, the speedy execucion whereof will disabuse the people who (it's said) are by their present rulers made beleieve that your Highnes will not suddainly stirre any whether. I presume it's not unknowne to your Highnes that (among other your faithfult servants) I am by y<sup>e</sup> Rebells oppression brought soe lowe in my poore fortune as I am hardly able to make a shift to supplie the necessities of my family; yet, if my attendaunce on your person may be of any advauntage to his Majesties affaires or service to your Highnes, I will upon receipt of your comaund not faile (God willing) to pay y<sup>e</sup> duty and obedience I owe to your Highnes, being thereto particularly obliged for your gracious opinion of the fidelitty and integrity of, Sir,

Your Highnes most humble obliged  
and most obedient servant,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Caen, 7<sup>o</sup> Junij, 1648.

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LORD HATTON.<sup>a</sup>

29 August, 1648.

SIR,

Yours of the  $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$  present I have receaved together with the cipher and your directions for the adress of all my letters to you; and truly, sir, upon the same reason you give me for itt was I faine to assume that name by which I desired you to direct yours to me. For I presume I perfectly know the wayes and small policies of *St. Germain's* and all *their under agents*. Your opinion was very right in beleieving none of your companies<sup>b</sup> was desired

<sup>a</sup> Christopher Hatton, cr. Baron Hatton in 1643. His letters to Nicholas are mostly written under the pseudonyms "Charles Parker" and "Simon Smith," but the handwriting is unmistakable.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.*, at the meeting of Prince Charles and the members of the King's Council held at Calais in July, following upon the defection of the Parliamentary fleet under Rainsborough. Hatton's account of the jealousies and intrigues among the Royalist leaders may be compared with Clarendon's *History*, ed. 1843, p. 646.

or expected by *Lord Culpeper and Lord Jermin*; and if the former letters sent to you all (as wee heere supposed) to invite you into these parts about Whitsontide last were the same was sent to *my Lord Keeper*,<sup>a</sup> itt was apparent they tooke more care to divert that journey then incourage itt. And soe willing were they that none should be then present but such as would ether speake or concur as they would have them, that *Lord Hatton*, who was then in *Paris*, where that meeting was held, was not summoned till 3 in the afternoone to meete att 5 that night, and, being that afternoone abroad, mist (as they desired) his summons, and they his company. And had not *Lord Hopton*<sup>b</sup> exceedingly pressed and indeed begged those letters which were sent from Callice to Dieppe (and, as I have beene informed, all since sent unto them), itt would have beene evident not only to themselves but the world that the desire was to shake them off. I assure you, sir, there was some heat at *Councell about it*. Wee had not beene many houres in *Callice* but *Lord Culpeper* urged *Prince Charles* to goe to *the Navie* and leave his followers to come after, but he would not listen to itt; and there appearing indeed noe evident necessity (as there did after), it confirmed me in my beleewe that he desired to gett him away before *the Councell* was come up. I therefore urged that as an argument why that hast should not be used, but that he should stay till they came. *Lord Culpeper* replied he hoped noe man would thinke itt fitt *Prince Charles* should waite on them. *Prince Charles* tooke my part; but *Lord Hopton* tooke upon him to know their minds that they desired not to come thither, but that you all were of opinion unanimously rather to attend *Prince Charles* in *Holland* then where he then was, and soe defeated my argument. And when, after the remove from thence was fixed, he urged for letters to be sent to call you all after *Prince Charles*, his *Secretary*,<sup>c</sup> courtier

<sup>a</sup> Sir Richard Lane, made Lord Keeper, on the death of Lord Littleton, 30 Aug. 1645. He died in 1650.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Ralph Hopton, cr. Baron Hopton in 1643.

<sup>c</sup> Robert Long, younger son of Sir Walter Long, of Draycot, Knt.; cr. a Bart. in 1662.

enough to comply with *Lord Culpeper*, diverted itt att that time with some rough and indecent language towards the proposer; and when att next meeting he urged itt againe, *Lord Culpeper* told him he wondered he would press a thing of soe little importance and noe advantage to the persons, such a journey being noe wayes fitt for them in regard of their age and infirmities and indisposition to the sea. And yett after this, when as itt was resolved all would be aboard before you could all have come up and that the intention was to remaine a month att sea and that in the Downes, *Lord Hopton* did againe urge that letter which was last sent to Dieppe to call the company there into Holland. I feare I have beene to long upon this theame, but I was desirous to lett you see I have the old hart open to you and as willing to lay hold on the liberty you give me or rather invite me to in the length of my relations. I hope by this tyme you see you scaped an ill journey to a cold wellcome. And yett I must tell you to the sweete yong Prince you would have found a very harty wellcome as far as his owne inclinations could express themselves. Beleeve itt, sir, he is as hopefull for virtue and judgement as you can expect from one of his yeares and education.

I shall satisfye your desires to know the beginning, progress, and end of the late difference between the Lord D[igby] and the Lord Jar[mine]. Att my return from Callice I found D[igby] very sensible of great injuries done him by the other. Very many particulars were instanced in, as the putting him upon the journey to Callice, soe farr as notice might be generally taken of itt, and then dissuading him from itt upon false pretenses and staying him after such a manner as gave lookers on cause to beleeve the Prince had refused his company. And after the company was all gone and Jarmin come away, Crofts<sup>a</sup> presently appeared to be the man designed for the negotiations att the French court (which my Lord expected) and Tho. Jarmin for the affaires att our Queenes court,

<sup>a</sup> William Crofts, of Saxham, co. Suff., cr. Baron Crofts in 1658; Captain of the Guard to Henrietta Maria.

and the L[ord] D[igby] not only out of all imployments but exposed to contempt by many disrespects; and, as itt seemes, was represented by Goffe<sup>a</sup> and other their agents in forreine places as a person layed aside att St. Germaines. Upon these and many more (as he thought) provocations he sent (by Sir Kenelme Digby) a challenge to the Lo. Jarmin the night before my Lord of Ormond went thence. Itt was imbraced by the Lord Jarmin and Sir William Davenant<sup>b</sup> elected for Jarmines second to encounter Sir Kenelme, the meeting to be att Nanterre betweene St. Germaines and Paris. Sir Kenelme [was] on his way to give an account to my L[ord] D[igby], but by messenger after messenger was sent for back upon other pretenses of the Irish affaires; but att his returne he found the Lo. Jarmin and Sir William Davenant had a guard sett upon them, and he was told by Mr. Crofts whatever had passed betweene the challenged and him in private and assured if he offered to stir he would have an actuall guard over him, as their were now spies upon him. Sir Kenelme carried himselfe rarely well. That night the Lord Ormond was commanded by the Queene to send to the Lord Digby to Paris to repaire next morninge to St. Germines. The messenger found him att his chamber in the Louvre (not hid after the sending a challenge according to the old way); and he presently sent word he would be there next morning and accordingly came. The expectations of the Court were very high, and all lookers on resolved the L[ord] D[igby] would give a home charge and require full and open satisfaction before hee yeilded; but their expectation

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Stephen Goffe, or Gough, "a man well known in that time as the chief agent and confidant of my Lord Jermyn" (Clarendon, ed. 1843, p. 648). He was of Merton College, Oxford, and M.A. in 1627; and at one time was a Royal Chaplain. Afterwards, however, he became a Roman Catholic, and joined the Oratorians of Paris (Wood, *Athenæ*, i. p. 494; Bray, *Evelyn's Diary*, ed. 1850, i. p. 19).

<sup>b</sup> The dramatist and Poet Laureate; he had been knighted at Oxford in Sept. 1643.

was deceived, for within one houre all was privatly accorded and noe frend called to itt, insomuch as Sir Kenelme went awaye to Paris a stranger to all the proceedings, and *Lord Hatton*, who had beene acquainted with all the former proceedings and was now present on the place, receaved noe other account of itt but he should very shortly see great fruits of this private accord and the ample-nesse of the satisfaction would appeare within two or three dayes. Since nether frend nor foe that looked on have perceaved any issue of itt but the Lo. D[igby] discarding Walsingham<sup>a</sup> for giving offence to the L. Jar[min] and the Queene by keeping company with Griffin,<sup>b</sup> which they interpreted (as his Lordship sayed) as his abbetting and fomenting the bussines betweene the Lord Jarmin and Griffin, and this the world beleeves is a satisfaction given by my Lord Digby and none appearing from the Lord Jarmin, and truly I cannot find any reason to persuade them the contrary. And as for any expostulations since, I am very confident there hath beene none. Now for Griffin, he was att Callice when the Prince was there and not owned by any of the company, but a very great detestation of him in all and resolution in the Prince and all that were neere him to have used him accordinge to his deserts in case he had expressed the impudence to have pressed upon him. But Griffin never offered att itt, but tooke occasion in all companyes to sweare and deeply vow to cutt the Lord Jarmins throat soe soone as he came to towne; and this occasioned Sir William Davenant to waite on Griffin there and reconcile the Lord Jarmin and him, and undertake not only for a visitt to him by the Lord Jarmin (who I beleeve visited none else there) but likewise that Jarmin should bring him to kiss the Princes hand, which on Sunday night,

<sup>a</sup> Edward Walsingham, described by Nicholas in a letter to Ormonde, 8 Feb. 1643, as "Lord Digby's intimate servant," and "a great babbler of all his most secret employments" (Carte, *Ormonde Papers*, i. p. 206). Lord Byron also calls him "a pragmatikall knave" (*ibid.* p. 217).

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps the "Captain Griffin," residing near Dieppe, whose name occurs later in the Correspondence.



when most were gone from court, the Lord Jarmin performed and in the opinion of all surprized the sweete Prince. Now, Sir, Griffins argument is this, if my Lord Jarmin procured this from the Prince for feare he should have cutt his throat att Callice, why should not he be confident he would procure him to kiss the Queenes hand for feare he should pistoll him att Paris, where he hath ingratiated himselfe with all the Filoughes<sup>a</sup> and common rogues, as is commonly sayd, and hath vowed, which he is not sparing to profess to all men in all companyes, that he will cause Davenant to be pistolled and *Lord Jermin to be gelt*. He abides heere in Paris, but I have by some acquaintance with his greatest frends desired to keepe a distance in regard of his vitiousnes rather then his difference with Jarmin. When the Queene first heard he had kissed the Princes hand att Callice, shee sayed he was a base fellow that brought him to her sonne; whereupon the Lord Jarmin sayed there, as was reported, and I am sure Sir William Davenant sayed itt heere to *Sir R. Browne*, that Prince Rupert did itt. But Griffin was soe just as to question them for itt and avow by his language in every place and his letters to St. Germines that he receaved that favor solely from the Lord Germin and did not see Prince Rupert till afterwards, and that untill that was over Prince Rupert refused to admitt him to his presence. And lett me assure you, Sir, Prince Ruperts carriage was such att Callice and throughout the jorney thither that I protest I was overjoyed to see itt both for the publickue and the Princes happines in his company; and I wish from my hart he were soe well att sea as that his counsellis might assist the Prince. Certainly, Sir, hee appeares to me to be a strangely changed man in his carriage, and for his temperance and abilities I thinke they were not much questioned. As for *Mr. Jackson*, I very much feare he is fitter for *Lord Culpeper* then 658.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Filou, a term in French argot explained by Littré as a "voleur qui emploie l'adresse."

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps a mistake of the writer for 653, *i.e.* Nicholas himself.

And though in my particular I never received discourtesy but rather respects from *Lord Culpeper* since I came into these parts, and I did hope many things I could not well satisfie my selfe in might be imputed to his ill nature, yett in my late journey I must [be] convinced to beleve as much ill of him as I can of any, since I am sure I saw him plott and designe against the *relieving Pembroke<sup>a</sup> and Colchester* and indeavor what in him lay to hinder any *Comission* to the *Duke of Buckingham<sup>b</sup>* unless he would be solely under the *Earl of Holland* and declare for the Covenant and such popular wayes as he called them, but *Prince Rupert* stucke to itt and wee carried itt against him. Itt was never expressed in the whole journey by what authority or in what capacity the Kings councillours waited on the Prince, whether as appointed by the King by any letter or comission, or required by the Queene, or commanded by the Prince; and *Lord Culpeper* would not abide the question. But now the reason is apparent to us in these parts; for, this question being lately moved att *Sir R. Brownes*, itt pleased Sir William Davenant to determine itt and sweare itt was only by virtue of my Lord Jarmins pleasure, who might, if he pleased, as well have appointed him for one and, if he found itt inconvenient to continue them all or any of them, he might and would att his pleasure remove and change them, and, that they might see they attended not in that capacity, his Lordship did himselfe sett amongst them, whom he thought noe man doubted but might be a privy councillor if he would, but he was above itt, and he did not beleve any man the wiser for the place, and he had now appointed the Lord Willoughby of Parham to be one of them. But Sir William was out, by his leave, in that point; for the reason

<sup>a</sup> Pembroke surrendered to Cromwell, 11 July, 1648; and Colchester to Fairfax, 28 Aug.

<sup>b</sup> George Villiers, succ. as 2nd Duke in 1628. His futile rising in Surrey, with the Earl of Holland and others, at the beginning of July, 1648, was speedily put down, costing the life of Lord Francis Villiers, his brother, in the field, and that of Holland on the scaffold.

of that is well knowne to proceede from the Lord Jarmins strange ambition that hath soe fixed his thoughts upon being high Admirall of England himselfe that the Lord Willoughby was wholly made Vice-Admirall upon engagement to serve under him, and all the arts and attempts that he, Goffe or *Lord Culpeper* could use have beene practised to gett the Duke of Yorke out of the Admiralty, and very much hath beene sayed in the hearing of *Lord Hatton* to make the Prince jealous of his brothers being Admirall, and in these parts there was lately a dispute maintained by some of Jarmins creatures and kindred, how unfitt itt was to trust him, his disposition considered to be to stout and resolute and not tractable enough to be governed by Sir John Barkley,<sup>a</sup> who was appointed from hence to be his Governour. Sir, I easily beleeeve England hath afforded you noe supplies, for certainly I had starved had I not left all to my wife<sup>b</sup> to manage, who gets something by living there and haunting some of her kindred and what wayes I know not, but sure I am such as noe way intangle me in conscience or loyalty nor hinder me from serving the King, Queene, or any of there children in the most open and avowed way when they shall command me. And yett, Sir, I see those I thought had not soe much as I, nor I am sure have not lost or suffred soe much as I, live like Princes and Kings in all manner of expences and, as Sir Henry Wood<sup>c</sup> (who is my Author) assures me, that when the Queene and Prince had 4000 pistolls a month allowed them, 2500 hundred of those were mispent (as he called itt) upon the expences of one man and allowances to his creatures. Penes authorem fides sit; and I thinke in this kind of learning Sir Harry is an authentically author. And if the marquess Ormond depend upon supplies from

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Berkeley, youngest son of Sir Maurice Berkeley, of Bruton, co. Som.; cr. Baron Berkeley, of Stratton, in 1658. He was made governor to the Duke of York during the absence of Lord Byron in England.

<sup>b</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Charles Montague, of Boughton.

<sup>c</sup> Of Hackney, and Loudham Hall, co. Suff.; Treasurer of the Household to Henrietta Maria.

hence, I am confident he shall have as little assistance as *Lord Jermin* can give him; for he is too gallant a person, too full of integrity, virtue, and loyalty, he hath too much noble blood and to[o] magnanimous a mind to stoope and come under such as (in their owne conceits only) are fitt to be Admiralls and Lords Paramount, and certainly ayme at noe accommodations that may clip their wings, as I perswade myselfe all accommodations imaginable will.

The late great victory<sup>a</sup> doth every day lessen; for, though itt bee true many Spaniards were killed, many taken prisoners, amongst which Generall Bec<sup>b</sup> was one, who is since dead, yett all the bagage escaped and was carried to Doway by two great regiments of High Dutch who fought gallantly during the whole retreat and gott off whole and intire. The canon was lost in the field, and Bec suffered by making a stand against the French whilst Leopold gott off, which with very much difficulty he was persuaded to doe, being resolved he would dye in the place, if Bec and Buckquoy<sup>c</sup> had not prevailed with him allmost by force. Att the Arch Dukes first randevous he mustered (att Valentines I take itt; if I mistake in the orthography of names or places I never knew, you will bury itt amongst my greater errors) above eleven thousand horse, which I speake from an eye witness who saw them. Buckquoy hath undertaken in 4 dayes to rayse 2000; they have one the parts towards Fourn<sup>d</sup> 5000, which were formerly placed there upon a designe; and their High Dutch regiments that brought off the bagage estimated att above 2000. To all these the Arch Duke had the arriere-bands, soe as itt is beleevved, if not allready, in few dayes he will be the master of the field againe. And the French army are

<sup>a</sup> At Lens, 20 Aug. when Condé defeated the Archduke Leopold.

<sup>b</sup> John, Baron Beck, General Field-Marshal. He was removed to Arras and there died of his wounds.

<sup>c</sup> Charles Albert de Longueval, Count de Bucquoy, General of Cavalry in the Spanish service.

<sup>d</sup> Furnes, between Dunkirk and Dixmude.



fought very low, there losses in prisoners (the first part of the battell) and killed and wounded in the whole service very great.

But I shall now come to a greater victory over the French court, and, if you will pardon the quibble, tell you I have heere seene Bruzells taken and surrendred in the space of two dayes. The following relation will unriddle the equivocation. I shall relate unto you the greatest action that ever I saw, and one of the greatest instances of the just judgement of God. Upon Wensday last,  $\frac{1}{2}\frac{6}{0}$  of Aug.,<sup>a</sup> whilst the King and Queene were att Nostre Dame att the Te Deum for their great victory (which should rather be a tyme of Jubilee then execution to offenders), the court counsell took advantage of their Guardes being drawn out, and sent to the house of Monsieur Bruxells,<sup>b</sup> a Councillor of the Parliament, a very forward man for the People in all their late claimes in Parliament for their liberties and one who had newly refused to signe a new imposition (upon the strength of their victory) layed upon wine. They knocked att his doore; a boy came and opened, told them his master was att dinner; they rushed in upon him, tooke him, thrust him into a coach, and drave furiously away. His boy cryed out that his master was enlevé, which with the pace of the coach [was] att once confirmed and intraged the people soe high that they pursued and came soe neere they were forced to take him out of the coach, which the people minced as small as ever coach was and flung itt into the river (as my eyes can witness). By this tyme the Marshall Melleray<sup>c</sup> (the Cardinalls great confident) came out in person to stop the torrent of the people and secure the enlèvement of Mons. Bruxells; but that great souldier in undertaking an imployment soe farr beneath him to encounter with the scumme of the people (for as yett it was noe other)

<sup>a</sup> Known in the French Memoirs of the period as the "Journée des Barricades."

<sup>b</sup> Pierre Broussel, "Conseiller Clerc" of the Parliament of Paris, 1637. He was made Governor of the Bastille in 1649, and Prévôt des Marchands in 1651.

<sup>c</sup> Charles de la Porte, Duc de la Meilleraie.



received a condigne repulse and was beat back with stones, which saluted him even in his bosome. All this day from this tyme (about 11 at noone) forwards was spent in very much disorder and facing of both sides; and in the smallest space imaginable all the shops in Paris were shut up and the better sort of Burgeois busey ether in encouraging the People or preparing for hotter service by charging gunns and pistolls and furbishing of halberts and other weapons. The Archbishop<sup>a</sup> in Pontificalibus came out to mediate betweene the Court and the People, but in vaine; and scarce any few de joy appeared that night through the whole towne. The next morning, being Thursday, the Court were soe confident they had the victory, because as yett none but the baser sort of Polulacy [populace] had appeared in action, that early they seized on Mons. Nouion<sup>b</sup> and Monsieur Blamine, Presidents of the Parliament, which though of higher condition, yett that which concerned Mr. Bruxells being first acted and he being more popular, though the other well esteemed by them, the whole noyse runne upon the first. Then came the Chancelor<sup>c</sup> towards the Parliament sent from the Queene Regent to interdict them from proceeding, but the People came soe nimble towards him with such base language and sharpe expressions of their resolutions concerning him that he gave command to his attendants to tacke about, which they did with much expedition and the people after in chase and followed him soe close he was forced to turne short and fly out of his coach into the Hostell de Luynes. The people there killed his coachman and his

<sup>a</sup> Jean Francois Paul de Gondi, archbishop of Corinth, and coadjutor to his uncle, the archbishop of Paris; afterwards Cardinal de Retz. His own *Mémoires* contain a graphic account of his interposition "Je sortis en rochet et camail, et je ne fus pas au Marché-Neuf que je fus accablé d'une foule de peuple qui hurloit plutôt qu'il ne crioit," etc. (ed. 1859, i. p. 155).

<sup>b</sup> Nicolas Potier, seigneur de Novion, succeeded André Potier his father as President in 1645. "Blamine" is René Potier, Seigneur de Blancmesnil, President "aux Enquêtes." Other accounts speak of the latter only as being arrested.

<sup>c</sup> Pierre Séguier.

chiefe officer of his guard and pursued him into the house, frighted the poore Duches of Luynes and made her fly in her smock. The Chancellor hid himselfe under a bed, by which the people missing him plundered a great part of that brave house. And att last came Marshall Melleray with all the guards, and by the advantage of the Peoples placing the women and children in the van he gained the house and with some loss of persons neere him brought off the Chancellor, who was faine to walke on foote in the midst of all the guards from thence, which is neere the foot of Pont St. Michael, all along Pont Neuf and soe to the Pallais Royall. Upon this the Magistrates of Paris and all the Burgeois appeared att the Maison de Ville and with their Bell there rung the Toxane or warning to the city, forwith commanded all to be in armes and wedded the Parliaments quarrell. They instantly barrocadoed all the streetes, made workes att both ends of Pont Neuf, possessed themselves of all the bridges save Pont Rouge, to which they drove the Swisses with the losse of their commaunder in chiefe and divers of the common men att Port Nesle, and, beleve itt, Sir. soe soone a fortified garrison and soe strong I thinke could not be seene, with all the rules and formallity of a garrison and colors displayed on their workes. Itt sufficed not to secure the ende of streetes, but by innumerable chaines and rowes of caskes filled with the pavement stones they did not afford a walke of 5 score betweene worke and worke, soe as, could you suppose itt possible to supply themselves with victualls, for my part I cannot suppose itt pregnable. And that they would have done by thrusting out an army of foot and horse on their most convenient sides; for I suppose noe man can imagine that, considering all the Parliaments of France would certainly have risen att the same tyme (if the rumor of this hath not allready raised them), itt had beene possible for the Court to have raised such an army as would have girt this towne with a line. When they had put themselves in a posture, they presented their service to the Parliament and engaged them to goe to the Court to the

Queene to demand Mons<sup>r</sup> Bruxelles; and this was about noone. Att first the Queene was high and refused them admittance; but they sent her word, unless she would be pleased to grant them admittance, itt would not be in their power to hinder the sad effects would speedily ensue. Whereupon they had entrance and were returned with a promise that Monsieur Brussells should be delivered to them, in case the Parliament would promise to forbear sitting untill the 11<sup>th</sup> of Nov. To which they answered they must receive a resolution to that from a full debate in Parliament, and goeing thither to debate itt there, their masters the People and Burgeois layed hand on them, sent them back and charged them not to returne without Mons<sup>r</sup> Bruxells, and that without any conditions. Backe they went and spent the residue of the day with the Duke of Orleans, Cardinall Mazarin and the Chancelor and others in the gallery of the Pallais Royall, the Queene soe farr from yeelding that shee did rather exasperate them with scornes. But towards night the Cardinall and the Chancelor for their skinnnes sake and others for their end, being thought to be underhand on the Parliament side (according to the old English fashion), prevailed with the Queene; and they were dismissed with an assurance to the People that Mons<sup>r</sup> Bruxell should be next morning rendred to sitt with the rest in Parliament. And thus having jury-like fasted the whole day (saving what collation they had att court) they were permitted late in the evening to goe home. But all guards continued and towarde night were encreased; and Count Harcourt<sup>a</sup> sent to all Accademies to command (as Master of the Horse) that all their Horses should be ready. Next morning, being Friday, the Parliament sett (and are adored of the people with the same adoration was bestowed on the English Idoll in its infancy), they perceaving Bruxells was not come sent immediately to the Magistrates att the Maison de Ville to lett them know they were abused and commanded them to double their Guards, which

<sup>a</sup> Henri de Lorraine, son of Charles, Duc d'Elbœuf; Grand Ecuyer of France.

was immediatly done with incredible celeritie. But att last Mons<sup>r</sup> Bruxells is brought back in the Queene Regents owne coach and sett att his owne doore and walked from thence to the Parliament; and the President Blamine and Nouion returned likewise in a more obscure way. The people flocked to meete Bruxells att his first coming into towne (for he was brought from St. Germaines, Blamine and Nouion from the Bois de Vincent); and all the way he desired the people to be quiet and continue all allegiance to the king. They wished him not to be dismayed att his imprisonment, but that he should goe on vigorously, as he had done, to defend their liberties and they would live and dye with him. After he was restored the king sent to the Maison de Ville to lett them know, now they had their desires, he hoped they would lay downe armes and appease all tumults. They returned answeare they hoped his Majestie apprehended noe danger from their armes, for they were soe faythfully bent for the defence of his sacred person and rights that he might safely send all his other guards to fight against his enemies and relye for the safeguard of his owne person upon the fidelity of his good Burgeois of Paris (but they wanted their bretheren of Englands promise of making him by this way a glorious king), and after all their complements to the king kept their armes still in their hands untill that the Parliament about noone made and after noone published (by the Citty Trumpettors, not the kings) an arrest of Parliament for the laying downe their armes and returning to their shops, which they did through the hart and face of the towne, and the kings guardes sneaking through the outmost suburbes to their quarters after two dayes and two nights duty and more of them slaine then of the Townesmen. The Parliament likewise before they did rise made an arest to proceede against them that had councelled the imprisoning of Mons<sup>r</sup> Bruxells and a decree against those that did execute those councells, soe as wee have a kind of cessation rather than a settled peace and that I am confident but till the people and the Parliament be denied their



next request, and then their will be againe an interruption of Trade, as was till my Lord of Straffords head was off or the Bishops out of the upper house. By this, Sir, wee have seene what noe man saw in Paris since the beginning of the Ligue, when Henry the 3 their king was forced to fly out of a posterne gate att the Louvre about 60 yeares since. The citty heere have seene their owne strength, their advantages and disadvantages, the one to encourage them and the other to correct when they goe to itt in earnest. Their unanimity is unexpressable, soe is their industry when they are stirred, and their multitude now numbred, in my opinion an ill way for the court. Truly, Sir, I am loath to tell you my apprehension how many I beleeve were in armes, though others ghesse many thousands more than I doe, and I know not how to confute their arguments. The Court have seene the weake confidence in their guards ether of souldiers or lacquaes, both which by some of our English Mons<sup>rs</sup> I have heard much magnified with a beleefe they kept Paris in awe. As for their regiment of guards, itt is true itt was now att the lowest; but, beleeve me, I see the highest number of itt had been inconsiderable att an houres warning to the Burgeois after the alarum of their Toxane. The towne is extremly well armed in all respects of weapons and amunition in every private house; and as for the Lacquaes, which were allways represented to me to be great and unanimous on the court side, I am confident by the union of the Parliament with the Towne (which noe man shall ever see severed) the proportion of their Lacquaies were farr larger then the Court side and I am sure better armed. But I see the strength of a monarch (the best forme of Government) is in the strict administration of Justice, in the exacting as little as he can upon the people but for publicke, necessary and popular imployments and that itt be exactly issued to the uses pretended; to reward merritt and punish offenders in due tyme, not letting slacke the raignes till itt grow into such a custome in his owne nature and the peoples expectation that the



peoples mouthes are hardned to that bitt which should rule, guide and turne them with the smallest check to a tender mouth. But I wash a Blackmoore to fall into these discourses to you, who know them better I have given you a long (and from the penne itt comes) tedious relation of our affaires heere in relation of Tumults; a confused expression may be favorably interpreted an elegancy, and to such a rhetoricke a man may without blushing pretend. However I cannot comitt more faults then I find you willing to pardon. If I be to tedious, check me for itt, and I may in tyme be brought to serve you your owne way, but never in my owne opinion enough. Itt is tyme I should end; and when out of my letters you have extracted whatever newes may serve you, lett the fire end the originalls. . . .

Your very affectionate humble servant,

CHARLES PARKER.

I pray, if my Lord of Ormond be still in those parts, present my humble service to him and make him partaker of the Paris newes. I hartily wish him a people to governe, and a better people then the Irish have of late beene, happy in a governor of his prudence and virtue.

Sir, I cannot avoid acquainting you with two particulars concerning this great bussines. First, that itt is sayed heere they imprisoned Mons<sup>r</sup> Bruxells in the castle of St. Germines and he was lodged in Mr. Crofts his chamber, who they take notice is Captaine of the Gard to the Queene of England. Next, the Queene of England came on Thursday to visitt the Queene Regent, which the people give out heere was to advise her to stand out and take example by the ill success of yeelding in England. I wish the visitt had beene spared, and that some other place had beene his prison.

*Endorsed by Nicholas: 29 Aug. 1648. A relation of  
a formidable mutiny or rebellion in Paris upon  
the imprisoning of Mons<sup>r</sup> Bruxells.*

## LORD HATTON.

1<sup>o</sup> Sept., 1648.

SIR,

I have received yours of the  $\frac{4}{14}$ , whereby I perceive what I intrusted to others to performe had the success I wished. I did write unto you on Tuesday last, wherein I gave you an account of my absence and what assurances happened in those parts where I was. Since that, this inclosed liste of such servants as the King demands to attend him is sent us over. Whether this will prevent any effects of the Queenes letter (as coming to late) for those I told you shee recommended, or whether, itt being apparent all he desires are but as servants to attend him not as Commissioners to treat, he may att any time thinke fitt to aske the addition of an attendant, and they in that notion peradventure not unwilling to grant itt him, I am not able to ghesse; but this I am assured that shee hath since my coming thence repeated the expressions of her letter in the behalfe of *Lord Hatton*, which appeare to be very earnest, and, since this list came, shee hath sayed, if her letter gott safe, the party would be sent for. What the issue will be I know [not] yett; when I doe, you shall, and in both cases your frendly advise craved. I have inclosed sent you an account of the Prince, such as I hope wee may be sure my Lord Cott[ington] and Mr. Chancelor are joyned to his counsell by this time. I pray send your good advises to them and recommend to their care the navy and my Lord of Ormonds affaires in Ireland. I have by his Lordships approbation and directions held a correspondency with the *cheife agent of the Irish Rebels*,<sup>a</sup> and I never found them sincke *soe much as now* nor ever *soe inclineable to the person of Mar: Ormond*. Sir, I must intreat your pardon if I breake off abruptly

<sup>a</sup> He apparently means the "Abbot Crely," or Crelly; see Edw. Walsingham's letter to Ormonde, 16 Sept. (*Orm. Papers*, ii. p. 354), and Meynell to Cottington, Jan. 1650, "O'Neil employed one abbot Crelly, an Irish Cistercian Monk, to Paris to the Queen (*Clar. State Papers*, ii. p. 509). Perhaps the same as Philip Crolly, who was appointed Vicar-Apostolic of Clogher diocese in 1650.

upon a sad occasion, the death of my Lady Aucher<sup>a</sup> att Callice, Sir Robert Hattons daughter, which doth a little disorder me and require my care in her fathers absence to give some directions concerning her affaires. I pray, sir, be pleased to lett me know by your next whether there be not some Flanders prisoners lately come to Caen and whether one Collonel Anselme an Englishman be not one, and whether they be kept strictly or have liberty of conversation and of receaving and sending letters, for I shall acquaint you with something in my next that concernes [h]is good intentions for the *King of Englands or Prince Charles service*. I shall be larger in my next, and now and ever remaine, Sir,

Your most humble and faythfull servant,

CHARLES PARKER.

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SIR E. NICHOLAS.

\*

TO MR. OUDART.

Caen, 1 October, N.S., 1648:

If it be well considered, none of the Kings affairs which have of late been left wholly to the conduct of Lo. Culpepper have been managed with any advantage to His Majesty. Few then look for better success in the sad condition of His Majestys present affairs till persons of virtue and piety be chosen rather than hot brains, who having (*sic*) so much in their fancies as how to advance their private fortunes and to compass their ambitions and covetous designs.

TO P[HILIP] W[ARWICK]

10 Decemb., N.S., [1648].

I may tell you in your ear, and so may you his Majesty, that his still adhering so much to the Presbyterian faction and his late interchanging some dispatches with some Scots is too well known and hath, as I am advised, irritated those against him who have now the power of the sword in England, and I tremble to think what may be the consequence thereof to his person.

<sup>a</sup> Elizabeth Hatton, wife of Sir Anthony Aucher, of Bourne, co Kent, who was cr. a Bart. in 1666.

DR. MATTHEW NICHOLAS.

Feb.  $\frac{8}{15}$ , 1648[9].

GOOD BROTHER,

You will perceive by these enclosed letter and answere that, though I am alltogether to seeke for advise in my owne condicion, yet I am consulted with in yours, and I am not more afflicted with the sense of my weakenes for the necessitys I labour under, then for feare of doinge you injury or beinge wantinge unto the affection of a brother by it. Be pleased, I pray, to peruse what is done; and, if I have bin defective, excuse the error of my judgment with the truth of my affection and give me your direction how to proceede. *I take Mr. Dove<sup>a</sup> to be a most false man and to doe all upon designe, whatsoever he pretends, but desire you to have the judgment of other of your freinds before you soe conclude. He is called by some in Parliament Sir John Evelines<sup>b</sup> Pigeon. I wrote an intimation of this to you in my last from such as knew his intention, howsoever he cullors the matter in his letter.* My cosen Will. Gauntlet hath a promise from the committee to become their tennant for y<sup>e</sup> parsonage at the rate of six score pounds by the yeare, wherein I conceive he hath made a greate adventure of doinge himselfe wronge in desire to doe you service supposinge he may preserve the outhousinge and grounds from utter ruine; but having not obtained the parsonage house nor orchard and grounds about it he cannot prevent the greatest mischeife, which is like to befall and is dayly done to it. My cosen John Rives<sup>c</sup> hath yet received none

<sup>a</sup> Probably John Dove, alderman of Salisbury; M.P. for Salisbury, 16 Oct. 1645, in place of Serj. Robert Hyde, disabled. He was named one of the King's judges, but did not attend the trial (*Notes and Queries*, 6 July, 1872).

<sup>b</sup> Sir John Evelyn, of West Dean, co. Wilts, M.P. for Ludgershall in the Long Parliament.

<sup>c</sup> Edmund Ryves, of Luckington, co. Som., married Mary, sister of Sir Edward Nicholas, 19 Aug. 1623; and John Ryves, their son, was baptised 16 Sept. 1624. (Egert. MS. 2558, f. 33.) The name is in the list of persons allowed to attend the King, 2 Sept. 1648 (Walker, *Treaty of Newport*, p. 8).

of the promised fifts of Long Parish for my cosen Hall, but is in daily expectation of some; and the sequestrator tells him that he will at the next letting of that farine prefer any frend of yours for the preservation of it *at the rate of six score pounds yf any frend of yours will comend a trusty tenant to him for your advantage.* Mr. White hath either too much care of himself or too [much] busines for other men to doe you service therein.

. . . . I have hitherto forborne to mention the accursed assassination of our Royall master because my soule abhors the thought of it, and you cannot but by this tyme heare of that horrid act, of which noe age ever heard the like. I looke for nothing after this but the destruction of the kingdome. . . . .

Your assured loving brother,  
M. N.

Feb. 8, stil. vet., 1648[9].

*Endorsed by Nicholas: Bro. Dirdo, etc.*

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#### JOHN DOVE TO DR. M. NICHOLAS.

SIR,

Upon Friday last, I beinge at Gurny House, where the contractors for the sale of bishops-lands doe sit, I did see your brothers mannor of Winterborne<sup>a</sup> to be put to sale by the box, there beinge five or six competitors for it, wherby I thought I might doe you or your brother some pleasure by puttinge in of a paper that might carry it from the other; and I did cause a paper to be put into the box under the name of one Mr. Jones that did owne it, who did carry it by a very small some This Mr. Jones is well acquainted with your brother Sir Edward. The some of the purchase of the whole mannor by the paper put in amounteth unto 884<sup>li</sup> 03<sup>s</sup> 02<sup>d</sup>. Sir, if you or any frend that your brother can make use of to enter

<sup>a</sup> The manor was assigned at the sale of Church lands, 28 Sept. 1650, to John Dove for £838 6s. 11¼d. (*Collectanea Topogr. and Geneal.* i. p. 291).



the contract for it (*sic*), Mr. Jones will leave it to such as you or any friend of your brothers shall appoint soe to doe. He is now at Grayes Inne and goeth the next weeke into Monmouthshire, where he dwelleth, and expecteth some answer before he goeth; because, if you will not meddle with it, nor any friend for your brothers use, there must be a proceeding in it according to the some proposed . . . .

Yours most assuredly,

JOH. DOVE.

Somerset House, this 29<sup>th</sup> of Jan. 1648[9].

*Copy.*

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DR. M. NICHOLAS TO JOHN DOVE.

SIR,

To yours of the 29<sup>th</sup> of the last (which came not to my hands untill the second of this instant) I can returne at present noe other direct answer then of thanks for the respects to me and my brother which you were therein pleased to signifie. I neede say nothinge for disableinge my selfe to you, that very well knowe my present subsistence is a charity. And I have noe such encouragement either from the sense I have of my brothers condicion, or from the judgment I can make of the rate required for the mannor of Winterborne, as to enterpose a consent in that particular on his behalfe, if that were all; but it is more boldnes then I could ever yet allow myselfe to agitate a busines of such concernment without his privvity, though uppon better assurance of his allowance, and therefore must entreate the favour of soe much time as to acquaint him with the overture and receive a returne before I can say any thinge to effect. As for my brothers other friends, there is none at hand of a condicion able, and my time is too short to consult with any farther off, that have the ability, if it may sort with their affections, to intermeddle in such a busines. If you thinke this answer (which is that I can only give at present) to have in it any satisfaction, I beseech you be pleased to communicate it unto

Mr. Jones, to whome I am a stranger, farther then he hath made himselfe knowne by his respects, and let me have the favour to be esteemed according to my affections to appeare,

Your treue frend to serve you,

MAT. NICHOLAS.

Salisbury, Feb. 3, 1648[9].

*Copy.*

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JOHN ASHBURNHAM.<sup>a</sup>

MY MOST DEARE FREIND,

What with the constant uncertainty of my condition since my coming over and the unsettled resolutions of the present Rulers, I have as little had occasion as inclination to offer any thing to you. Nor should I take this time, when my heart is soe full of sorrow and mourning for the death of our deare master of holy and glorious memory, were itt not of particular relation to your good, to acquaint you with the suddaine liberty will be given to all men to compcund within a time limited, which if not accepted, their estates must goe towards the souldiers arrears, who I assure you are soe watchfull over any thing which conduceth to their advantage as nothing of that nature doth escape them. If therefore you send noe commission to any of your freinds to compound for you, or that uppon the receipt of this you forbidd me not, I resolve to petition in your name for that purpose, and endeavour the best I can by the meanes of your brother or Mr. Greene to obtaine a Particular of your estate and serve you therein to the uttmost of my skill, according to my many and long professions and your

<sup>a</sup> For the part he had taken in the escape of Charles from Hampton Court he had been imprisoned at Windsor, 19 May, 1648, but was exchanged, as "the most considerable prisoner in the kingdom," for Sir W. Masham, 7 Aug. (Rushworth, vii. p. 1218). He was, however, refused permission to attend the King at Newport (*C. J.*, 31 Aug., v. p. 694), and his name inserted in the list of delinquents to be excepted from pardon on 13 Oct. (Walker, *Treaty of Newport*, p. 57). He himself compounded for £772 10s. (Dring, *Cat. of Compounders*, 1655).

obligations I know you will wonder that I give you noe state of things here; but when you shall consider how farr my deepe sence of what hath lately happened renders me incapable of discharging that freindly office, I hope I may obtaine your pardon for that omission . . . .

Your most humble and most faithfull servant,

JOHN ASHBURNHAM.

Ashburnham, 12<sup>o</sup> Februarij, 1648[9].

SIR JOHN GRENVILLE.<sup>a</sup>

SIR,

Silley, xxiii<sup>th</sup> of Febr. 1648[9].

Hearing *the necessity and ill condicion this place was in by reason of disorder, mutinies and wantes, and His Majesties service so much concerned therein*, I thought it my duety without consideracion of my selfe to hastne *from Jersey with all the speed I could*, and by Sir George Carterets favourable meanes I had Capt. Amyes little Friggatt to transport me thence, and having bene five dayes at sea in a continuall storme *very likely to be cast away* I arrived safely at last in these Islands, where I finde the same disorder that I feared and heard at Jersey. I have with greate industry endeavoured to regulate these people into some better condicion and order, and have allready brought them a little more conformable to the advancement of his Majesties service; and I hope every day they will know more duty and obedience, and they are at present seeming to bee well satisfied. It hath byn a greate misfortune to the kings service that no frigat hath bene appointed for the service of this place, its advantage and subsistance wholly depending upon the benefit it should receive by sea. I have acquainted his Majestie therewith, as likewise the condicion I find

<sup>a</sup> Son of Sir Bevil Grenville, of Stowe; cr. Earl of Bath in 1661. He was appointed Governor of Scilly in Nov. 1648 (*Orm. Papers*, i. p. 170). The island had been surrendered to the Parliament on 25 Aug. 1646, but was recovered for the Royalists by a rising of the inhabitants in Sept. 1648.

*this Island in, our wantes growing very great. And as concerning the ship and commodities seizd on here, they were imbezelled, lost and disposed of before my coming. Allsoe the distraction of the Islanders could be scarce composed, so that our condicion will be very bad without reliefe. Therefore I have most humbly desired of his Majestie to supply us with such provision as we want, having sent a gentleman on purpose to his Majestie about that busines. I have likewise dispatched another messenger to my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to give his Lordshipp likewise accompt of my condicion, and I hope I shall receave speedily a supply of souldiours from thence, and some provision from his Majestie for our present maintenance; and then I doubt not by Gods blessing to give his Majestie a good accompt of this place. And, if his Majestie thinke fit to assigne me some Friggatts, I am confident I shall not for the future put his Majestie to any further trouble of this kinde, but on the contrary I hope to be in a condicion to send his Majestie supply from hence. Therefore I shall humbly beseech you to be a mediatur for me in your letters to the Court, the preservation of this place being of soe great concernment to his Majesties service.*

The Fleete called here as they pass't by into Ireland, but wee have heard noe newes of them since. Sir, the extraordinary ill newes I have heard since my being here concerning the most horrid murther and treason committed on the person of his most sacred Majesty has soe transported mee with greife as that I am not able to expresse it to you, this barbarous and most inhumane accion being without president the greatest that ever has byn committed, and I hope God will revenge it on the heads of the damnd authours and contrivers of it. But since this greatest misfortune that ever befell us cannot bee recalled and seeing wee cannot better shewe our deepe sence hereof to his Majesties memory then by performing our duety to his royall sonne in sacrificing our lives and fortunes to his service, and assoone as I was assured of this sad trueth and had solemnly payd here our abundant greifes in infinite teares, having

commanded throughout all these Islands a day of mourninge and humiliacion for our most fatall and incomparable losse, I thought it my particular duety to proclayme his Majestie that now is King, which was accordingly done on the xxii<sup>th</sup> of February with as much joy and cheerefullnesse as possibly could bee expected after soe sad newes. I have byn troubled verely much; noe person here had formerly seene a president of the like, that I might have byn able to have putt the Proclamacion in a better forme. But I hope yoursele and every worthy person besides will pardon my errours, it being I humbly conceive a greate faulte to neglect the performance of such a duety of soe high importance to the Kings service and for want of a forme to occasion by a delay a prejudice upon his Majesties service here, which I hope during my lyfe never to bee guilty of in the leaste measure. This is all that I have to trouble you with at present. . . .

Your most faithfull and obedient servant,

JOHN GRENVILE.

SIR E. NICHOLAS TO J. ASHBURNHAM.

MY DEEREST FREIND,

8 Martii, st. nov., 1643.

I receaved this morning your favour of the  $\frac{1}{2}^{\text{th}}$  of the last moneth, which as it renewes my deepe sorrow for the losse of our most deere and gracyous master of blessed memory, who cannot be enoughe lamented, soe its a great comfort to me (after soe long silence) to finde you still soe firme and carefull of your disconsolate and most unfortunate old frend, who in this tyme of his most bitter affliction hath as few comforters as Job and is as unable to helpe himself. Its very certeyne that I am brought to very great necessities, having not receaved one penny out of my small estate in many yeares before my coming into forraigne partes. And I foresee greater wants coming every day upon me like an armed man; which makes my poore wief prepare to come for England some



tyme in this or the next moneth, if her health will permit her, to seeke for some allowance out of my owne to feede us and ours. By her I shall give full direccions for whatsoever may concerne me, wherein if she may have your assistance you will ad much to my many obligations. But I desire you will forbear to doe any-thing in the way you intimate you were resolved to move for me untill she shall arrive, which I doubt not will be tyme enoughe, yf there be any intencion att all to afforde me any releefe. And indecde there are some particulars which she will, when she comes, acquaynt you with that noe other knowes. These partes begin to be soe full of troubles among themselves and our nation is here soe odious for y<sup>e</sup> horrid death of our blessed and glorious master and soveraigne as y<sup>e</sup> French offer y<sup>e</sup> Englishe without distinccion great violence and insolence for no cause upon every occasion. Wherefore I and many others of our countrymen are thinking to remove into Holland, when wee shall meete with a convenient and safe meanes. Wheresoever I shalbe I shall contynue to be perpetually, my deerest freind,

Your faithfullest servant,

[E. NICHOLAS.]

*Draft.*

*Endorsed:* To ye best of freinds.

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LORD HATTON.

9 Martii, 1649, st. no.

SIR,

This late sad and execrable murther of our blessed master hath soe disordered me that I shall hardly ever recover true quiet of mind, and yett through all distractions I must enforce my selfe to action when itt may conduce to revenge the blood of that royall and glorious Martyr upon those base and inhumaine murderers. And I know noe way more ready then by all the services possible I can render to his sonne, I doubt not heyre to his virtues as to his

crowne. And I must confess I apprehend that God beginnes to smile upon him in prospering the most worthy able and deerest subject he hath to lay a foundation of his future victory by the peace now accomplished in Ireland; and truly I hold itt noe less then miraculous that by Gods divine goodnes wee are necessitated (for otherwise wee should never have done it) to cast ourselves wholly upon his counsell and deliver up into his hands our two great hopes, the sweete paire of Princely Brothers accompanied as his Lordship hath advised. For to that resolution they are now come in these parts. And I cannot better beginne my services to the king that now is then by desiring you and conjuring you by all your friends interest and your owne just and loyall inclinations to hasten away to him. Your letter was accepted by those I know you most value heere, that is the good Queene, who expressed her content (to use her owne phraise) that such honest men should be about her sonne, and saith that, if any strangeness have beene, itt was through mistaking of her. I have beene of late much favored by her and all her discourses are such as all true honest English harts could wish, and I am confident her hart dictates to her tongue; *but I hold Lord Jermins counsell and designes as pernicious and destructive as ever and his power as vast and exorbitant. His present endeavor is to procure a speedy meeting betweene the King and Queene here in France, [to] engage and tie up the King as much as ever his father was to the counsell of the Queene; and the horrid consequence of that, though but in reputation abroad (which this meeting will infallibly procure), I leave to your consideration.* And I am assured from a very good and considerable hand, such as you durst trust, that *Lord Jermyn* hath a very great desire to *enter into Irland with the King*, which for my part I thinke would be a great disreputation and disparagement unto his Majesty and would very much dead the harts of all the Kings party. To show you the rottenness and corruption of his hart, *Lord Hatton* heared him say in the *Queenes bedchamber* upon Sunday last that,

*if the King did restore Lord Cottington, Sir E. Hide or any such person to be officers under his Majestie, the King would ruine himselfe. Sir, I beseech you, use all to prevent the Kings journey to any such meeting. The persons designed by Marq. Ormond to goe with the King into Ireland are Lord Cot[tington], Sir E[dward] N[icholas], Sir E[dward] H[yde], Lord Hatton; those rejected and cashiered, Lord Culpepper (for Scotland), Lord Percy,<sup>a</sup> Lord Digby, Lord Wilmot,<sup>b</sup> Prince Rupert if possible, for as much as I find heere; and the Duke of Yoarkes title to be admirall (layed aside when Lord Jermin had a minde to be admirall) must now be revived to out 386, 377, 693 Prince Rupert, 728. And the Duke goes for Ireland. Having now done with private bussines, all the newes I can send you is the common talke of the towne, that the Queene of England out of her motherly tendernes desires to see his Majesty her sonne before he goes for Ireland and desires the meeting may be in France. Many well affected that wish her all comfort from her sonne are yett persuaded such a meeting may be dangerous, that it is not fit for him now a king to sett foot upon this land, that the distractions of this countrey being great and both parties complyeing with the English Rebels, the Parliament heere in hopes of succour from them, the French court for feare of exasperating them, in soe much as they have not yett soe much as sent an envoyee to salute our new king. This many apprehend to be a sufficient caveat for him not to tread upon French ground in the condition he is in. Considering how ill he was used before att his parting and that they take notice he resented itt, who knowes how they may urge the renuntiation of his title to France, or how the Parliament faction may make their markett of him with the English, there being in the opinion of many wise persons noe trust to safe-conducts from them? And wee see what liberty was voted*

<sup>a</sup> Henry Percy, younger son of Henry, 9th Earl of Northumberland; cr. Baron Percy of Alnwick in 1643. He was made Governor of Guernsey in this year.

<sup>b</sup> Henry Wilmot, 2nd Viscount Wilmot; cr. Earl of Rochester in 1652.

to his father many dayes after the treaty was taken from him by the army. But I leave this to those whom itt concernes and shall pray and hope the wisest and safest course will be taken. Mr. Pooley is come out of Holland from the King, and an envoyee from the Prince of Orenge, another from the Princess Dowager, another from the Queene of Bohemia, another from the Princess Royall; and the expressions there made to the Kinge are as farr beyond expectation as they are a shame to all monarchs. The very relation (sayes my letter out of Holland from *Dr. Stewart*<sup>a</sup>) of that monstrous fact in England upon the person of the King strooke one woeman dead upon the first hearing it,<sup>b</sup> and another lyes yet soe ill that tis thought shee will not recover. The States Generall came together in one body to our King both to condole his Fathers death and to congratulate his succession. And twas done after they had beene informed from their ambassadors in England that those bloody rainging villaines had offered to make with them a league offensive and defencivve, to make those of Holland as free in England as the English themselves, and that they make them their absolute patterne both in point of State and Church. Their ministers came in a body to the King and preach fiercely for him; and there is great intimations of large contributions to him. They have recalled their Embassadors from England. But, notwithstanding this from strangers, the English minister att the Hage would not name the King in his church, and what he seemingly prayed for him was indeed more against him. And for our marchants att Rotterdam, their deputy shut up their church dore

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Richard Steward or Stewart, "Dean of the King's Chapel, whom his Majesty had recommended to his son to instruct him in all matters relating to the Church" (Clarendon, p. 649). He was Prebendary of Worcester, 1629, and Provost of Eton, 1639; and during the Civil War was nominally appointed Dean of St. Paul's and of Westminster.

<sup>b</sup> This story figures in Clarendon: "There was a woman at the Hague, of the middling rank, who, being with child, with the horror of the mention of it, fell into travail and in it died" (p. 704).

because the English minister there had told them that he meant to pray for the King; and leaving their owne meeting they went to the Brownists, amongst whom thanks was given to God for the Kings murther and, as is reported, they feasted for that reason. The Lord Mont Rose is in Holland. Sir, I am loath to leave discourse with you, but hope wee shall spend the rest of our tyme more together. Good Sir, hasten to Holland; and be pleased to lett me heare when you goe and when you hope to be there, and to take my cypher with you, that I may there send you something as soone as you [are] arrived that may concerne myselfe and the Kings service, for from that I will never sever the private interest of, Sir,

Your most faythfull and affectionate humble servant,  
CHARLES PARKER.

SIR E. NICHOLAS TO DR. MATTHEW NICHOLAS.

<sup>16</sup>/<sub>15</sub> Martij, 164<sup>8</sup>/<sub>5</sub>.

GOOD BROTHER,

Yours of the 8th of Febr. st. vet. I have now receaved, whereby you advertise that Will. Gantlett hath agreed to rent the parsonage at six score (I hope you meane sixty) pounds per annum, which is soe excessive a rate as, if he had taken with it the house, orchard and grounds about it, it had bene much too deare in these times. And for my part I had rather the whole should have run the hazard to have bene ruined then he should have soe enhansed the rate of it. The principall reason why I wish a friend might rent it was to preserve the housing, orchard and grounds about it, which it seemes he is to have nothing to doe with; soe as upon the matter he hath done himself and me a displeasure by taking it in such a manner and at such a rate. If Sir Jo. Ev[elyn]s pidgeon, or any friend of his, hath purchased the Bishops interest in the Mannor of Winterborne, I shall not envy his bargaine or at the price of sacri-



ledge take it off from his hand, but will rather loose all my interest in it then bring such a firy coale into my poore estate at any rate ; nor will I (or I hope any of mine) ever renew it on any condicions whyles it shall be out of the church. In mine of the 8th present I wished you to let the pidgeon know what interest I have in it after my mother, whose joynture it is, vizt. for my owne and two eldest sonnes lives as by your Chapters Register, where it was entred when confirmed, appeares. In the meane time you have given him a very discreete and prudent answer, for which I kindly thanke you. . . . .

*Headed : Bro. Dirdo.*

#### LORD HATTON TO LORD COTTINGTON.

$\frac{16}{26}$  March,<sup>a</sup> 164 $\frac{3}{8}$ .

MY MUCH HONORED LORD,

I come just nowe from our good and sadd Queene, who commanded me to attend her this daye, from whom I understand (to all our comforts. y<sup>t</sup> have faithfully served and suffered for his Majestie) shee is firmly resolved to pursue those advisses shee hath received from my Lord of Ormond and to shunne those rocks which have splitt soe many former designes. I perceave by her letters from Holland shee apprehends three parties there about y<sup>e</sup> King ; one earnest for Scotland, another violent for Ireland, and a third for stayinge still there where you nowe are. For Scotland, shee thinkes they have bid to faintly for y<sup>e</sup> Kings presence ether by their Proclamations<sup>b</sup> or their Propositions by Mr. Murry,<sup>c</sup> and unless there were an intire union amongst themselves, with an

<sup>a</sup> An extract from a letter of Hatton to Nicholas of this date will be found in *Orm. Papers*, i. p. 235.

<sup>b</sup> Charles II. was proclaimed King at Edinburgh on 5 Feb.

<sup>c</sup> "Old William Murray . . . employed here by Argyle" (Lord Byron from the Hague, 30 Mar., *Orm. Papers*, i. p. 238).

absolute and unlimited declaration from them to joyne with all others of what nation or condition soever to revenge y<sup>e</sup> murther of his Majestie of ever blessed memory and to recover for his Majestie our Sovereigne y<sup>t</sup> nowe is all due dominions and just prerogatives, shee cannot satisfie her greate judgment y<sup>t</sup> itt is fitt for her sonne to take his journey thither att present. Shee doth fully agree in substance with those whose opinions and desires are for his Majesties present journey for Ireland, soe farr y<sup>t</sup> shee doth hartly wish to heare he were upon his waye. Butt shee wisheth withall y<sup>t</sup> itt might be persued with as much faireness towards y<sup>e</sup> Scotts as may be, and y<sup>t</sup> they should be informd and convinced (iff reason will doe itt) y<sup>t</sup> there is a necessitie in y<sup>e</sup> Kings speedy setlinge of Ireland, who invite him without conditions or limitations, and y<sup>t</sup> itt is not out of his waye to Scotland, whether hee will as willingly come, when they shall by such an union and unlimited invitation give him opportunitie to express they are noe less in his care and affections then his other kingdomes. As for those y<sup>t</sup> incline to his staye there, shee apprehends them to be fewest and there reason weakest. For to their suppositions of divisions amongst y<sup>e</sup> Rebells and Tyrants in England, she receaves soe little intelligence of itt from any good hand y<sup>t</sup> shee conceaves itt a meere dreame; and, iff itt should be soe, shee rightly apprehends y<sup>e</sup> Kings motion and attempts will rather widen then close those differences and invite one of those parties or a third to call in and joyne with his Majestie. And for those difficultyes raised against his journey by reason of debts there, wages necessarie for his servants, and provission to be made of moneys to take with him, her Majestie doth not thinke itt impossible y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Prince of Oringe, who had undertaken for him there for a whole yeare, might be willinge to assist to afford credit as to y<sup>e</sup> debts and servants in consideration that he shalbe eased of y<sup>e</sup> remainder of y<sup>e</sup> yeare to come. And as for y<sup>e</sup> provission of moneys to take with him, though shee hartly wisheth itt could be raised answerable to y<sup>e</sup> merritts of my Lord of Ormond and y<sup>e</sup> Irish nation, who soe

seasonably returne to their obedience, yett shee is very confident y<sup>e</sup> Kinge shallbe wellcome to them, although he be not able to raise any sum to take with him. Shee might also hopefully expect some supplies for his Majesties owne use from y<sup>e</sup> great prizes lately taken by y<sup>e</sup> Navie under Prince Ruperts commande, of whose readines to complye with his Majesties necessities shee cannot doubt. Butt, my Lord, y<sup>t</sup> shee may fully express y<sup>e</sup> tender affection of a mother and y<sup>e</sup> greatt and royall hart of a gracious Queene, rather then her sonne y<sup>e</sup> Kinges Majestie should not proceed in soe hopefull a journey as this of Ireland, which shee conceivees soe advantageous towards y<sup>e</sup> restauration of his Majestie and all his party, shee doth most freely and cheerefully sacrificize her jewells already pawned there in Holland for his fathers service, and is most willinge he should be by them supplied, ether by chaingeing them into other hands or sellinge them out right, that y<sup>e</sup> world may see shee prefers noe worldly pompe, pleasure or profit to y<sup>e</sup> just revenge of y<sup>e</sup> late execrable murder of his sacred Majestie nowe with God or y<sup>e</sup> welfare and prosperitie of his Majestie y<sup>t</sup> nowe is and his loyall faithfull and sufferinge party. And as I doubt not your Lordship will represent to his Majestie and all his loyall party this magnanimytie and gallantrie of her Majestie in this offer, soe I hope by some good fortune and your Lordships prudence some waye wilbe found out to reprove y<sup>e</sup> sale of y<sup>e</sup> jewells till itt may be acted with more profit to their Majesties, since I suppose att this present y<sup>e</sup> worlde would take such advaintaige of such an argument of his Majesties necessities, y<sup>t</sup> they would att this instant scarce afford a summ sufficient to redeeme them from y<sup>e</sup> values they nowe lye for. Her Majestie may conceive many may violentlye pursue y<sup>e</sup> Irish journey without a moderate carriage towards those enclined for Scotland out of feare y<sup>e</sup> journey may be diverted by that contrarye partye. But her Majestie assuringe to y<sup>e</sup> utmost of her interest in y<sup>e</sup> Kinge y<sup>t</sup> journey shall hold (and to her great contentment shee finds his Majesties owne inclinations bent upon itt), shee hopes all y<sup>t</sup> are

well affected to itt, and in particular your Lordship, will promote itt with y<sup>t</sup> temper y<sup>t</sup> those of y<sup>e</sup> Scotch nation may have not soe much as a well grounded cavell for a displeasure, iff they shall express any att itt. My Lord, affter my great happiness and content in receavinge these particulars from her Majestie shée was pleased to aske me whether I held a correspondence or had interest in any nowe aboute his Majestie ; and I hope your Lordship wilbe pleased to pardon me y<sup>t</sup> I could not refraine to boast myselfe to be an humble and obliged servant of your Lordship and one Mr. Chancelor was pleased to owne for a freind. Whereupon her Majestie was pleased to command me to give your Lordship this account, noe wayes doubtinge of y<sup>r</sup> Lordships concurrence in promotinge these her Majesties righteous designes for y<sup>e</sup> prosperitie of his Majestie and his party.

*Copy.*

*Endorsed by Nicholas : Lord Hatton to Lord Threasurer.*

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SIR EDWARD HYDE.

DEERE MR. SECRETARY,

. . . . If you received my last by the last post, I told in shorte the whole state of our affayres and resolucions, as farr as I could judge, and I shall be very gladd that this may finde you at Caen before your remoovall, and then, it may be, it may save you from a troublesome journey, for which I am sure my Lady will thanke me at least. It is very true I have knowen this moneth *that the King intended to go by France*, and I am sure I have writt so much to you ; but I thought not that reason enough *for you to defer your journey, the time of his going being so uncertayne*, and I thought you should *do but your part in wayting on the King* whatsoever the effecte should prove. But this day, speakinge *with the King*, I found *his Majesty desires you should rather meet him in France then come hither, and*

he resolves to make all hast thither. I have some reason to believe he is bound up by some promise to his mother till he comes thither. What he will do then I know not, but I feare exceedingly that old counsell will governe all. My hope is, that, when we come into Irland, Marquis Ormond will be most hearken'd to ; but, if the Queene go thither, what then ? You cannot imagyne the care hath bene taken to infuse prejudice into the King of all his Fathers counsell ; and I believe he hath received some rebuke for admitting my Lord Keeper to Counsell, for he told me this day that he is sorry he did it. I besought him to tell me freely whether he had a good opinion of Secretary Nicholas, for I well knew he had some enemys and named at least one. He answered frankly (and upon my conscience from his hart) that he had a very good opinion of Secretary Nicholas, and assured me it should be in no bodys power to doe him harme. So that your frends are now of opinion that you meete in France without puttinge yourselve to such a journey as this would be. I will now tell you a strange story, which I believe you will wonder at. Two or three dayes since the King called me to him and tould me that he intended to send Lord Cottington (which I knew before) and Sir Ed. Hide ambassadors into Spaine. You will easily imagyne Sir Edward Hide was surpryzed and asked whether it were to be rid of him. His Majestie assured the contrary and bad me speake with Lord Cottington. I then quickly founde it was Lord Cottingtons desire and was easily satisfied. The businesse itselfe (as to Lord Cottington) was proposed and advised by the Prince of Aurange and without doubte very reasonably, ther beinge no hope of mony but from Spayne and noe man being able to get it there but Lord Cottington.<sup>a</sup> He, in respecte of his age and many other reasons, desired to have Sir Edward Hide joyned with him, who, if we be quickly dispatched from hence, wilbe in Irland as soone as the King ; and I must confesse Sir Edward Hide is not troubled

<sup>a</sup> He was a *persona grata* at Madrid, both as a Catholic and as a former agent and ambassador there for many years (Clarendon, p. 754).



*to be for some tyme absent from this company. This is yet knowne, I verily believe, to none but to Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde; therefore I pray take no notice of it. You shall be sure to heare from me as soone as I know the tyme of our going, that we may meete in France, which I am sure you will not fayle to doe. Wee shall goe first to the Arch Duke, then to Paris. I hope you will not complayne of the shortnesse of this letter. I wish it may come safely and seasonably to your handes. You must not omit noe necessary ceremonys to the Queene, and I thinke you shall doe well to informe her Majestie of the letter to the King. The Treasurer and Lord Hopton are your humble servants. God send us a good and a speedy meetinge.*

I am, if anythinge, your owne  
P.

Hague, this 6 of Aprill, st. no., [1649].

*Endorsed by Nicholas: That I meete y<sup>e</sup> K. in France.*

---

WILLIAM EDGEMAN.<sup>a</sup>

RIGHT HONO<sup>ble</sup>,

Yours of the  $\frac{3}{13}$ th present came safely to Mr. Chancellor's hands, the which he would have answered himselfe, but, having writt at large by the last post and having a multitude of businesse to dispatch upon his remove from hence, being on Thursday next, he hath commanded me to make this addresse to your Honour, which is the last you will have from this place, my Lord Treasurer and himselfe being fixt upon y<sup>t</sup> day for the beginning their journey for Antwerpe.<sup>b</sup> And his Majestie stayes but till the Thursday following before he removes likewise, and to that purpose all preparations are making, the day appointed seeming to be unalterable. The King goes first to Breda, where the Prince of Aurange and and the Princessse Royalle accompany him, and he remaynes there

<sup>a</sup> Secretary to Sir Edward Hyde.

<sup>b</sup> Their Secret Instructions, dat. 24 May, are in *Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 481.

some few dayes untill my lord Treasurer and Mr. Chancellor have settled all particulars in Flanders in order to his recepcion there. And after his Majestie hath spent some necessary time with the Archduke and the Duke of Lorrayne (both which Princes have upon all occasions expressed great affection to his service), he goes for Paris, or any other place where the Queene shall desire to meete him, which is not certainly knowne here. And Mr. Chancellor (as he hath formerly intimated to you) desires you will hasten to Paris, and there attend the Queene's motions, which will best guide you with the soonest to his Majesties presence and the encounter of your honours freinds, which Mr. Chancellor does very impatiently wayte for. He commands me to tell your honour to y<sup>t</sup> part of yours concerning your letters to the King, that he is very confident he acquainted you in some of his letters how gratusly his Majestie received them, and what assurance he hath had upon severall occasions of the Kings great favour and kindnesse to you. The last letters you sent were by Mr. Hardings<sup>a</sup> conveyance, from whom I inclosed one to your honour very lately, which gives you an account of them. The Scotch Commissioners<sup>b</sup> are now upon the nick of their dispatch, his Majestie having sent copenes of all y<sup>t</sup> hath passed betweene him and them unto every one of the Scotch lords here, and with-all desired their opinion and advice upon the whole, which hath put some of them to a more publike discovery of themselves then 'tis beleived they did desire. *Duke Hambleton*<sup>c</sup> returned an excuse y<sup>t</sup> by reason he was unacquainted with the condicion of his Majesties affayres either abroad, or with

<sup>a</sup> Richard Harding, Groom of the Bedchamber; the "reverent Dick Harding" of the Queen of Bohemia's letters to Nicholas in 1654 (Bray's *Evelyn*, iv. p. 213, etc.)

<sup>b</sup> The Earl of Cassilis, George Winram, Laird of Libberton, and others from the Estates, with Robert Baillie, etc., from the Kirk (see Baillie's *Letters*, iii. p. 458).

<sup>c</sup> William Hamilton, Earl of Lanark, now 2nd Duke of Hamilton on the execution of James, his elder brother, on 9 Mar. 1649. He died of wounds received at Worcester, 12 Sept. 1651.

reference to Scotland, or what resolucion he had already taken concerning the latter, and having not been present at any debates y<sup>t</sup> were upon the buisnesse he was not able to offer any advice in a matter of such concernment; but *Earle Lauderdale enlarged himself somewhat and was* as fully for the Covenant as they, and his sense in the whole differed little from them. *The Mar[quis] of Montrosse, Earl Seaford,<sup>a</sup> Earl of Kitnoule<sup>b</sup> and the rest of that party behaved themselves in it like honest, loyall, and couragious subjects. And now the King is about a summary answer upon the whole, and yet there is great care used to parte with the Commissioners as fairely as may be.* There was a mistake in y<sup>e</sup> report of 10,000<sup>li</sup> sent by Prince Rupert, and though there did come letters of credit for 5000<sup>li</sup>, yet, being only upon some goods unsold at Silley and great questions arysing upon them here, the whole buisnesse is rendred ineffectuall, and were it not for moneys which the Prince of Aurange furnishes the King with (*being underhand provided by the States*) he had been still becalmed here. Tomorrow I purpose to wayte on Sir William Boswell<sup>c</sup> for the pacquetts your honour commanded me to take into custody, of which I shall be very carefull and give you a faithfull account of them, when I have the honour to see you, which I hope will be shortly. In the meane time I humbly remayne

Your honours most humble and most obedient servant,

77. 80. 10. 51. 64. 200. 393. 79.

Haghe, ye 25<sup>th</sup> of May, 1649.

*Endorsed by Nicholas: Mr. Edge.*

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<sup>a</sup> George Mackenzie, 2nd Earl of Seaforth, succ. in 1633.

William Hay, 3rd Earl of Kinnoull, succ. in 1644.

<sup>c</sup> English Resident at the Hague since 1633. He died in 1650 (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 58).

## LORD HATTON.

SIR,

26 May  
5 Junij, 1649.

I made hast in my journey that I might heere encounter your letter, which, of the date of the  $\frac{2}{3}$  of May, is safely arrived. As concerning *Mr. Longs being sworne a privy Councillor*, I dare upon my conscience acquitt *the Queene* from the least foreknowledge<sup>a</sup> or assent or any approbation of itt as yett; but I will not say soe much for *Lord Jermin* as to the approbation. Doubtless the *swearing any at all untill the King should speake with the Queene* was that which was not only advised *from hence but thrice promised her by the Kings letters to her*; and the reason why *she* desired this was that *the Queene might informe his Majestie whom our blessed [master?] had recommended to his sonne* and whom he had charged *both the Queene and the now King should be removed from or never admitted to the Councells or attendance about the present King*, whereof *Lord Percy is one* amongst others. But, whatever I perceave or enforme you of *the Queenes goodnes and noble ends*, doubtless *Lord Jermin* hath noe share in that, but quite the contrary to make ill use of all publick designes to his owne private ends, as I shall sufficiently manifest when I have the delight of your company. And I verily beleeeve nether *Lord Cott[ington]*, *Sir E[dward] H[ide]* nor *Lord Lane*<sup>b</sup> will be admitted unto their places, if *Lord Jermin* can hinder itt. And meere necessity, I am confident, makes him yeeld to fill *the Secretaries place*, or else you should have a cast of his office. And I may tell you in your eare I have a verry verry great jealousy *Lord Digby* will be left in the lurch, if *the King* can be made resolute in that dislike which is generally sayed he hath to the person of *Lord Digby*. Of this I shall tell you more when wee meete. Sir, as concerning your lodgings, I protest I did looke

<sup>a</sup> So Clarendon: "All which was done before he heard from the Queen his mother" (*History*, p. 704).

<sup>b</sup> Sir Richard Lane, Lord Keeper.

upon itt with an eye to cheapnes as well as conveniencie and could not apprehend where itt might be cheaper. For heere being two chambers spare, itt would save chamber rent, which I assure you is not small in this towne, and I payed above sixscore pistolls a yeare for my Lodgings only before I came hither. And for your diett your abode heere willbe but short and I know my Landlord will not put more in the pott; and, should you guess itt a charge and be willing to requite itt, I thought some small trifle in a present to the daughter heere would over requite itt and far exceede all their expectation. For you to diett in a chambre garnie is excessive deare unless you were in a settled way, and I thought the French cookery would nether agree with your palate nor health. And for you to pension unless there were company sutable for you would not I conceive be agreeable. And, if these two beds will not serve, itt were but lodging two of your company just cross the way within call out of your chamber window. Itt is resolved the King shall not stay heere a whole weeke. If therefore you shall thinke fitt to make your repose heere, you may, as you see cause, fitt your selfe with what conveniencies I cannot forsee this will lacke. I thought fitt, and my Landlord desired me to propose itt to your second thoughts, and what upon this you shall resolve I pray signifie to him and I by your next. I assure you my aime was as much for your reall ease as my owne contentment. His Majesty, as Mr. Denham<sup>a</sup> brings word, was to sett forward on Thursday last and wee expect him with what speede such a traine can travaill and his entertainments att Breda, Antwerp and Bruxells will permit. His stay att the French Court will not impede, being only a dinner tyme and not out of his way. But I hope you will soe speede your journey that itt may be a visitt to the Queene before the King comes. I had allmost forgott to tell you that the generall opinion heere is (and *the Queene* in a great measure beleeves it) that

<sup>a</sup> John Denham, author of "Cooper's Hill," son of Sir John Denham, Baron of the Exchequer; cr. K.B. at the Coronation of Charles II.



*Lord Cottington was very much assisting to Mr. Longs Councellship and that he doth to much favour him, which is ill resented by her and all the Kings party.* By the last that came thence *Lord Culpeper* endeavoured to lay itt upon *Sir E[dward] H[yde]*; but that calumny was to rancke, and I doe not beleeve *Lord Culpeper* hath att present interest enough in the *Queene* to doe an ill office to *Sir E. H.*, and *she* (to my knowledge) was to well informed what kind of amity was betweene *Sir E. H. and Mr. Long* to be cousened by such a pretense. Sir, I will hold you noe longer from your preparations for your jorney. I pray lett us know by your next your punctuall resolution for the tyme of your jorney and what you will command us heere and you shall find submission and obedience in, Sir,

Your most affectionate frend and faythfull reall servant,

CHARLES PARKER.

*Addressed: à M. Ledison, Gentilhomme  
Anglois chez Mons. de Gastebélé en la  
Rue St. Jean, à Caën.*

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SIR EDW. HYDE.

Since the writinge the other I am come to Bruxells wher I founde your 57 of the 27 and have scarce tyme to discipher it, the post beinge ready to be gone. It hath changed my purpose of sendinge this to Paris and once more to derecte it to Rouen, though truly I hope you are by this tyme at Paris or elce you are to blame. Why do you say nothinge to me of *Lo. Digby*, who it seemes hath bene with you? *Lo. Culpeper* told me the other day that it is resolved at Paris that *Lo. Digby* shall be secretary; and *Mr. Long* with great trouble, and not without some liberty towards the *Queene* and *Lo. Jermyn*, said that you would be the other. It is most necessary you should make hast. to the *Queene*; nor, since your wife is gone, can ther be reason why you should not be at Paris as well

as at Caen. I know nothing of *S<sup>r</sup> H. Wood*, but that he is not in *Holland*, and, whatever he is, I believe he is worth a hundred of *Hall*: who I heare is sent for by *Mr. Long*. I am of your minde that *P. Rupert* ought by noe meanes to meete the rebells this summer, and I hope he will avoide them, not by layinge upp his shippes (which cannot be done, least he loose his marriners), but by gittinge them farr enough out of the roade. I saw a letter at Antwerpe of the last post from London that *Dublin* is taken by storme, but know not what credit to give to it. It is true no doubt that if you had come into *Holland*, you had not wayted as secretary till the *Queene* had bene pleased; yet the *King* knowes by *Ned Villyers*, *Harry Seymour*<sup>a</sup> and others out of *England* that noe man will corresponde with *Mr. Long* nor with any that you com (*sic*) to him and on my conscience the *King* loves (*sic*). The truth is, though I could not honestly avoide the writinge to you as I did, yet I have often wishd that you had come notwithstandinge. I beseech you fayle not to bringe with you to *Paris* all my papers, and, if you will be ruled by me, have your owne still where you are yourselfe. Ther cannot be any spoken ill enough of the *Hollanders*; yet I thinke they have not yet made a league with the rebells. The Post is ready to goe. God blesse you and yours.

P.

Bruxelles, this 5 of June [1649].

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 PHILIP WARWICK.

SIR,

The last week I dispatcht one to you giving you that assurance, which I hope you beleive, that I was come up very cheerfully to serve my Lady. But I find you have not the Elevacion of our Pole, for in most of those particulars you promised yourself

<sup>a</sup> Groom of the Bedchamber; second son of Sir Edward Seymour, Bart., of Bury Pomeroy.

moderation we see you are like not to find it. Yours this week to your Lady and Mr. Whitacres seems not fully to understand your condicion here, by what they have written. I hope my letter is plainer. More then is therein I cannot say, and therefore, least that should have miscarried, or that you may perceave we must returne you hence the same thing in answer to your last Queres, I have given you the importunity of these lynes.

1. To be admitted upon Oxford Articles you are not to expect; for, those articles contayning nothing in relacion to excepted persons but leave to transport themselves, when they are admitted to compound, it is to have noe relacion to those Articles, but to such new condicions as are since given. And that is to men of your condicion a moyety. Soe S<sup>r</sup> G. Stroud<sup>a</sup> and your freind Mr. Ashburnham and others submitt unto. And Mr. Ashb: tells me (if you permitted him) he would doe for you as he did for himself, soe as that may informe you you have neighbour fare. Its true you may heare some mens summes amount not to that summe which answers to a moyety of their estate. But then its in respect of some engagements executed on their estates (for they allow not debt by bond, but where there are judgments or extents) or some way of conveyance whereby they are but tenants for life in their estates. Yours being most leases for lives and impropriations and all in yourself will swell your summe. But if you compound, all meanes that can be used to lessen it according to such rules as the Comissioners give to themselves wilbe sought and the interest of your freind will I hope besteed you. I am in little credit to doe ought worthy of you, but I'l labour and studdy it the more. If you have any deeds have settled any thing out of yourself in others and for your children, pray acquaint us, or anything of that nature.

2. For what you part with, it wilbe by deed from yourself and

<sup>a</sup> Sir George Strode, Knt., of Squeries, co. Kent. He compounded for 2,814l. (Dring, p. 109).

not otherwise ; for, if they be not paid in money, they'l have good conveyance of what they accept.

3. To compound, if by employment you are reingaged, is to be resequetred againe.

4. But to omitt this tyme, when you may save a part for wife and children, and then peradventure not to find your relacion where you are now intending it to be that it was, or such as may carry with it a fitting subsistence, is as considerable. Therefore it is recommended to you to be assured of your condicion where you are before you give positive direction for what concerns you here. We should be loath to find you loosing your oportunity here, and your expectation there.

Sir, these are uncomfortable and unpleasant workes, but such is our destiny. In what I am able, noe hart is faithfuller to you and family then your

P. W.

June 7<sup>th</sup>, 1649.

*Endorsed by Nicholas : P. W. to me concerning  
my bergaining with Mr. Lawrence.*

---

NICHOLAS OUDART.

Hagh, 9 Junii, 1649.

SIR,

Last night I arrived safely in this place (I thanck God) and found all kind of gracious recepcion. It was my very great trouble that at the time of my leaving England my Lady should be come thither and want my service. But I hope she hath admitted of my just excuses and endeavours for her by my letters and that you will allow my departure then, which (if deferred longer) might have drawn on manifold inconveniences there, and not a few here too. For on Thursday next the King and his sister<sup>a</sup> and Prince of Aurange all go to Breda, and after a few dayes his Majestie will take leave there of her Highnes Royal (who goes to the waters of

<sup>a</sup> Mary, Princess of Orange, to whom Oudart was now acting as Secretary.

Spa) and so goe on towards Antwerp with 40 Troopes of Horse, which the Prince of Aurange will leade neare unto itt, for the Kings convoy. Many of your friends are already gone before, from whom I will beleeeve you have had the notice of this, and more of the design intended then I can yet impart unto you. By what the King told me concerning your selfe, I find you are perfectly well with him, and *Long* tels me that *you will be Secretary, however it fare with himself*, who seemes to apprehend he shall not stand and hath made *me allreddy an overture* that, if *N. Oud[art]* like it, *Oud[art]* may be Clerc of the Signet presently to the King to help forward dispatches and yet *keep his place about the Princess*. *N. O[udart]* is wholly passive therein, resolving to obey, if commanded, because then his weakness must be borne withall. But the truth is, were it not that the presentacion may happily bring him under the wings again of his honored Mr *S[ecretary] N[icholas]* he would prefer a little ease with nothing before a great trouble and envy to boote with a like nothing. *N. O.* is extreme unhappy that this point must be resolved upon, pro or con, before he can have your advise upon it; I pray God heartily direct him for y<sup>e</sup> better. You shall know by the next what conclusion he makes. *N. O.* finds not that the answer given to the Scots is satisfactory to them. Nor is it perhaps very materiall it should be so, considering the termes they stand upon, as if themselves were the conquerors and had it in their power to give the law. Here remains nothing for you with Sir W<sup>m</sup> Boswell; otherwise I should have sent it. This day we have kept solemn by a publick Fast and Divine Service for the good successe of his Majesties voyage, which being done, the ambassadors upon the place begin to take leave.

I most humbly kiss your hands, and most assuredly remaine

Your Honours faithfullest and most obliged humble servant,



## LORD HATTON.

<sup>2</sup>/<sub>12</sub> Junij, 1649.

SIR,

Although I was prepared to enter upon the service to enforme you of the affaires this place affordes, yett had not my penne proceeded further then the above written date before I received the favor of yours of the <sup>1</sup>/<sub>11</sub>th present, which gives me occasion to wellcome you as farr as Rouen. What my last out of England speakes this inclosed will tell you. From Holland I have received none, but seene some which relate the Kings jorney adjorned sine die, for ought I find by the best, and give an account that the day after my Lord Cottington and the Chancelor came away the Scotts had a better day of it att councill then att any tyme before, and that some votes passed the board which before, itt seemes, were restrained, att which gallant Mont Rose made them soe sensible that those votes were againe ether smothered or soe maimed that nether side was pleased with the transactions of the councill. Culpeper and Long there, and Percy heere, beginne to plead hard for Scotland, and the Prince of Orenge is much persuaded that way by the States wrought upon by the Scotch Comissioners and perhaps by Dorislaus<sup>a</sup> masters. The Queene heere is doubtless firm for Ireland, not out of any partiality, but that shee thinks itt wholly for the Kings interest. And I am confident her advises and his fathers last desires and commands will steere our yong King right, who doubtless hath a judgement not inferiour to the sweetnes of his disposition, though the latter as yett doth to much prevaile to the apprehension of those that doe not throughly know the former

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Isaac Dorislaus, Judge Advocate of the Parliamentary Army; sent as Envoy to the Hague in May, 1649, and there murdered by Royalists. The view of the crime taken by Nicholas is plainly expressed in a letter to Ormonde, in which he speaks of "the deserved execution of that bloody villain Dorislaus" (*Orm. Pap.* i. p. 291). He had, in fact, himself indirectly instigated the murder during a previous residence of Dorislaus at the Hague, and before his action as prosecuting counsel on the trial of Charles I., in a letter to Hatton, <sup>1</sup>/<sub>11</sub> Jan. 164<sup>9</sup>/<sub>8</sub>, "I marvel that none of the Ranters about Pr: Charles do cut the throats of Strickland and Dorislaus, the Parliaments [agents] in Holland" (B. M., Add. MS. 4180, f. 7b).

and him by that experience I have seene of him. I find my Lord Cottington and Mr. Chancelor are expected heere this weeke, and though there be some trouble att our court att the Kings delays (which I beleeve are unavoidable, or else he would keepe his word with the Queene), yett I find there is rather a confidence then a despaire that his jorney will hold. I am very glad your stay willbe noe longer att Rouen then Munday or Tuesday and that you will lett us know the certaine tyme of your setting forwards from thence hitherwards, by which wee may conjecture the tyme and way of your aproach, that I may meete you out of towne and conduct you hither to your lodging, where your trunks are allready settled in possession. I finde the meeting heere betweene us and those frends of ours that are coming from Bruxells (where by Sir Henry De Vicks<sup>a</sup> letters probably they have had their audience) willbe very advantage to give you and I a right understanding of those particulars concernes us most att this tyme. I shall therefore multiply the minutes in my thoughts untill wee enjoy your presence heere, soe much desired and soe long designed and hoped for by your, *etc.*,

CHARLES PARKER.

You mention the intention of a Knight there to come hither, who hath formerly had relation to a young Gentleman heere. I cannot promise he will find as much wellcome in these parts as he may expect, att least cordially, if I can ghesse att events.

*Note in another hand :—*

Having newly now received your Honours letters of  $\frac{1}{11}$  June I have nothing to say in answeare, butt that all shall be ready for your reception, whensoever you please to come to the house of

Your honors very humble servant,

RICHARD BROWNE.

*Endorsed by Nicholas : Lord Hatton.*

<sup>a</sup> Sir Henry de Vic, of Guernsey, Resident at Brussels ; cr. Bart. 2 Sept. 1649. At the Restoration he was made Secretary for Foreign Tongues, Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, etc.

JOSEPH JANE.<sup>a</sup>RIGHT HO<sup>ble</sup>,

Had I not experience of your inclination to pittie persons distressed and that its a continued endeavour in your practice, I should thinke it a part of unhappines to create you so much troble, but your goodnes that causes the one takes of my scruple of th'other. I shall expect while I am able what the event wilbe, and desire, whatever the successe be, to enjoy some marke of His Majesties memory of me. Mr Moorton I heard of by a former letter and I had conference with Sir John Grenville at his beinge here. The quality of the place I sticke not on, but it's wholly out of my way, and it's obnoxious to some accidents in these tymes, that may render my reputacion worse with some to my disadvantage. I would serve Sir John the best I could, but I have felt the humors of a garrison already. I heare Mr Moorton hath letters for me, what or from whome they are I know not. Wee heere are much perplexed with the busines of Ireland, knowinge not more then the rebells triumphes. What help the presbiterian faction cann hope to give the Kinge is strange to me; for they are soe inconsiderable in England, soe false in Scotland, and both soe averse to monarchy, that the very conditions they offer upon which to assist the Kinge evidently destroy him. And if the repug[n]ancy of their principles to kingly government were tolerable, yet I think a man may without rashnes or bigottery affirme that it's an ill exchange to gayne a kingdome by rootinge upp religion and piety. And it was not only the sinn of Jeroboam and that which made Israell to sinn, that he erected the calves (for he retayned the worshipping of God withall), but that he made

<sup>a</sup> M.P. for Liskeard in 1640, but disabled 22 Jan. 1644; author of *Eikon Aklastos*, 1651. He had been Royalist Commissioner in Cornwall, and was now appointed to some post under Grenville at Scilly. Hyde has recorded his "extraordinary good opinion" of his abilities (*Clar. State Papers*, iii. p. 246).

altars and preists that had noe succession from those that God ordeyned ; and, if you read the last diurnall and the declaracion of the Scotts assembly, you will finde the spirit y<sup>t</sup> still works in them, and wee may be sure that if their owne feares worke them not to it, and that their subjection to an English army be not more terrible to them then the restitution of their kinge, they will never offer him any termes that he canne accept. And therefore you may rest assured that the way is to keepe of from them, and it's not the Kinges concessions but their apprehensions that must drive them to reason, which they will come to, if they be not too much complied with. And, whatever they doe, they cannot subsist but by that addition of force they gayne from the Kinge ; for an English Presbiterian will not adventure a sequestracion to goe to them, and it were not easy to perswade all of the Kinges party to joyne with such as professe their end to be the persequucion and extirpacion of all that submitt not to their covenant. I shall wayte upon Mr Samborne touching your lodgings . . . .

Your honors humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

Caen, 9 Sept., 1649.

SIR EDWARD HYDE.

Advises to be considered of upon all Occasions of Treaties  
and Ouvertures.<sup>a</sup>

In this present Conjuncture of affaires, when y<sup>e</sup> interest of severall factions is on foote (every one of which is more or lesse opposite to that of the Crowne, at least y<sup>e</sup> factors for either much lesse sollicitous for the King then for themselves), it will concerne his Majestie to provide noe lesse against privatt stratagems then publique force,

<sup>a</sup> This is a carefully-written copy by Nicholas of a paper sent to him by Hyde for the King, 30 Sept. 1649 (*Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 5).

and to beware of seeming freinds, aswell as of avowed and declared ennemies ; the former endeavouring by underhand treaties to undermyne him as the later by violence to destroye him ; and there is more of infamy that attends y<sup>e</sup> one then the other ruyne.

From the present prevayling party in y<sup>e</sup> Army (with which y<sup>e</sup> Councell of State and y<sup>e</sup> house of Commons now sitting are incorporated, having all sworne to y<sup>e</sup> extirpacion of Monarchy) there can be noe expectacion, hardly any probabillity, of a Treaty ; but all imaginable industry is to be used by force and power to suppress and extirpate them, as ennemys to God and man. And in all Acts of indempnity (which upon what sucresse soever must in y<sup>e</sup> end be graunted), an excepcion must be made of all those who sate as Judges or Assistants or Ministers in that execrable Court which directed y<sup>e</sup> murther of his Majestie, and of those who in y<sup>e</sup> house of Commons consented to the erecting that odious Judicatory, with those cursed Instruments who had their hands in his blood.

Whatsoever then of Treaty can fall out must be from or with those who call themselves the Levellers or y<sup>e</sup> Presbiterians, both of which will in y<sup>e</sup> end finde their security to depend especially on the Kings proteccion ; and therefore, noe question, both will make their applicacions to him. And great care and dexterity must be used to keepe them from uniting one with the other without y<sup>e</sup> Kings interposicion, but especially from submitting and complying upon promises or feares with y<sup>e</sup> other Anti-Monarchicall Party. And to that purpose these twoe Propositions and Conclusions must be inculcated to them both (being sutable alike to both) by messages or generall aunsweares to their Addresses or in any Declaracion the King shall finde it seasonable to publishe.

First, That his Majestie is well assured that they are persons soe farre from being guilty of y<sup>e</sup> murther of his father that they alwaies opposed and withstoode it, and therefore he is most desirous to receave their helpe and assistaunce towards his restoracion ; and, if



they shall declare and appeare for him, they shalbe sure of all the encouragement and favour from him which they can expect or promise to themselves from soe great and seasonable service and meritt, which his Majestie wilbe obliged in gratitude to acknowledge. And for their more particular satisfaccion, which cannot be administred to them till their particulars are understood, the King is very desirous that they send to him any persons intrusted by them, who shall easily discerne how willing his Majestie is to satisfy them; or, if they shall chuse rather to treat with his Royall Mother, the King will make all good which shalbe promised to them by her Majestie.

2. Secondly, That his Majestie is soe farre from intending or thinking upon a conquest of his Naturall Subjects that he desires nothing soe much in this world as that God may dispose their hearts and hands to be y<sup>e</sup> instruments (and y<sup>e</sup> only instruments) for his recovery of what is due to him; and nothing but inevitable necessity can incline him to the thought of accepting y<sup>e</sup> assistaunce of forreigners and strangers. And, if y<sup>e</sup> generall defeccion of his owne Subjects shall yet compell him to use that remedy, he will (by y<sup>e</sup> helpe of God) proceede (even then) with that moderation and distinction of persons that it shall appeare to the world that he desires y<sup>e</sup> reduccion, not y<sup>e</sup> conquest, of his people, and to restore the suppressed lawes of y<sup>e</sup> land, not to impose any new.

There seemes to be lesse inconvenience in applicacion to y<sup>e</sup> Levellers then to y<sup>e</sup> Presbiterians, if they cannot be both disposed to y<sup>e</sup> Service, and more good to be expected from them then from y<sup>e</sup> others, for these reasons:—

1. They strike att y<sup>e</sup> roote and foundation of y<sup>e</sup> past and present miseries, the dissolucion of y<sup>e</sup> present Governement and pretended Parliament; whereas y<sup>e</sup> Presbiterians in truth only ayme att y<sup>e</sup> removall of y<sup>e</sup> present Governors and to revive y<sup>e</sup> same house of Peeres and Commons, by vertue of y<sup>e</sup> perpetuall Bill, who procured

all our Calamities. And wee still see many who pretended to be, and in truth were, as great Presbiterians as any in y<sup>e</sup> houses still continue and joyne with them in their present Governement, being noe lesse ennemies to Monarchy then the other.

2. They have not y<sup>e</sup> same guilt upon their consciences which the other have and consequently are the more easy to be treated with, they being indeede men who rather come in for a share of the spoile then contrivers of the desolacion ; insoemuch as there cannot be a man named of that party to whose councell or conduct or interest the Rebellion can be originally imputed.

3. They are greater ennemies to Arbitrary Governement, and consequently will by degrees be reduced to a greater reverence of y<sup>e</sup> Lawes. Nor are they soe much united in those alteracions they desire as y<sup>e</sup> Presbiterians, who in a moment will agree upon a Governement most mischeivous to y<sup>e</sup> Crowne and most tyrannical to y<sup>e</sup> Subjects ; whereas y<sup>e</sup> Propositions of y<sup>e</sup> other (having little of Ambition, Pryde, or Covetousness in them) are extravagant and unpracticable, and will for y<sup>e</sup> most parte fall of themselves, and soe are lesse dangerous and threatning then y<sup>e</sup> other.

4. They are not soe full of animosity and uncharitableness to y<sup>e</sup> Kings party as y<sup>e</sup> Presbiterians are (who in all Ouvertures take more care to suppress y<sup>e</sup> Kings party then to vindicatt y<sup>e</sup> King), and soe wilbe more easily inclyned to incorporate with them, which is y<sup>e</sup> only way to raise a strength and power to y<sup>e</sup> King, on which he may reasonably rely ; and, being men of meaner condicion and lesse pride, will finde themselves to stand in neede of y<sup>e</sup> assistance and countenance of better men, which y<sup>e</sup> other will despise.

5. Lastly, they are possessed of power and interest in y<sup>e</sup> Army and in Townes and Garrisons, and probably have a good influence in y<sup>e</sup> Navy, soe that they are able to subsist and avow the party they are inclyned to ; whereas y<sup>e</sup> Presbiterians (I meane those

Presbiterians who pretend any inclinacion to the King) are as voide of power and strength as y<sup>e</sup> Cavalliers are, and without any credit or reputacion with the People.

For these reasons and many more, all possible industry and dexterity should be used to inclyne the Levellers to declare against the present Governement of y<sup>e</sup> Councell of State and y<sup>e</sup> Parliament as it is now constituted; to proclayme y<sup>e</sup> King (with what limitations or restriccions soever, provided those limitations and restriccions proceede from their owne fancy, not any consent of y<sup>e</sup> King); and that they receive into their ayde and party all persons who have served y<sup>e</sup> King faithfully and adhered to him. To which good end, offers and promises should be made to them in such manner as they shall choose, publicly or privatly:—

1. That a full Act of Pardon and Indempnity shalbe graunted to them.

2. That his Majestie will, for his parte, in a free and full Parliament consent to such Acts as shalbe presented to him

1. For y<sup>e</sup> ease of tender consciences in y<sup>e</sup> circumstances of Divine Worshipp.

2. For y<sup>e</sup> prevention of vexatious suites in law, and shortning y<sup>e</sup> proceedings att law and rendring them more certeine and easy to y<sup>e</sup> Subject.

3. For setting the poore on worke and providing against the imprisonment of poore people who are not able to pay their debts; and generally for y<sup>e</sup> releif of y<sup>e</sup> poore, that there may be noe beggars.

4. For the punishing all such persons whoe shalbe intrusted in any parte of y<sup>e</sup> Governement of y<sup>e</sup> Kingdome for swarving from y<sup>e</sup> knowne rule of y<sup>e</sup> Law; and for the swearing all Privy Councillors to y<sup>e</sup> observacion of the Lawe.

5. For y<sup>e</sup> compelling all persons of fortune and ability to pay their debts; and for y<sup>e</sup> proteccion of y<sup>e</sup> Commons from

all exorbitant power and oppression of their Superiours ; and for y<sup>e</sup> enjoying their property and liberty.

6. For y<sup>e</sup> frequent and constant calling of Parliaments, and the continuance of them for such a competent tyme as shalbe necessary for y<sup>e</sup> publike, etc.

These and y<sup>e</sup> like spetious concessions will comprehend all which they can insist on without evident invallidating y<sup>e</sup> Regall power ; which must not be donne by y<sup>e</sup> Kings owne consent, and cannot be peremptorily required by them, if they are convinced that his Majestie will not yeild thereunto.

What is here said is not with intencion to undervalue or decline y<sup>e</sup> Presbiterians, as if they were not considerable or able to doe the King service. Noe doubt very many goe under that name, and under y<sup>e</sup> name of Independants too, and soe shelter themselves under one of ye faccions, who indeede desire nothing more then y<sup>e</sup> contynuaunce of y<sup>e</sup> good olde Governement established by Law, those who have lived amongst them being compelled to betake themselves to y<sup>e</sup> proteccion of one of y<sup>e</sup> faccions, since y<sup>e</sup> suspicion of adhering to y<sup>e</sup> King brought certeine ruine to them. Soe that they who abhorred the Presbiterian impiety and tyranny and apprehended its prevayling pretended to be Independents and contributed to their power as not like to submitt to y<sup>e</sup> other ; whiles others who looked upon y<sup>e</sup> Independents as ennemys to Governement and full of mallice to y<sup>e</sup> person of y<sup>e</sup> King betooke themselves to y<sup>e</sup> Presbiterians as y<sup>e</sup> only men able to resist y<sup>e</sup> fury and rage of y<sup>e</sup> Independents. And soe both parties were made up of those who were ennemys to y<sup>e</sup> principles of either. Therefore extraordinary care must be taken to seperate these men from their companions ; and y<sup>e</sup> King must really receave, and his party cordially joyne (without y<sup>e</sup> least reproching or remembring whats past) with, all who will now beare their partes towards y<sup>e</sup> inthroaning his Majestie and revenging y<sup>e</sup> murther of his father, which is y<sup>e</sup> Kings present entire quarrell. However y<sup>e</sup> Presbiterians

wilbe more haughty and supercilious in all their Addresses and lesse contented with generalls, being men of more private and disgested ends; and therefore his Majestie will stand more upon his garde with them, and be more positive and steddy in whatsoever he shall offer to them.

1. He will by noe meanes ever consent that y<sup>e</sup> Solempne League and Covenaut be enjoyned or suffred to be taken in either of his Dominyons, the severall partes of it relating to the Civill Interest and Pollicy of his Kingdomes, [so] that he cannot suffer his Subjects to enter into such obligacions, but will pardon all who have hitherto taken it.

2. That his three kingdomes shalbe governed by their owne respective lawes, without encroaching on the other; and noe alteration of lawes, but in a full and free Parliament.

3. That the debate of Church Governement shalbe assumed in a Parliament to be called by his Majesties writt, as soone as a peceable eleccion can be made of the members, and a peceable and secure resort be made to y<sup>e</sup> place which he shall appoint for it. And at that tyme his Majestie will likewise call a Nationall Synode, to which he will invite y<sup>e</sup> assistaunce of y<sup>e</sup> Ministers of y<sup>e</sup> Protestant Churches. And what shall upon such advise be presented to him by his two houses of Parliament his Majestie will consent to and ratifye.

If y<sup>e</sup> Presbiterians will frankly assist y<sup>e</sup> King upon these conclusions (as they have great reason to doe), they are to be receaved with full grace and confidence. But, if they shall presse y<sup>e</sup> King to receaue them upon their owne Principles and to trust his person in their power, his destruccion wilbe soe much y<sup>e</sup> more insupportable and inexcusable, if he shall yeilde to them, as it will seeme to be brought on him by his owne consent. Whereas, if they shall once beleieve him fixed and resolved upon his owne grounds (which can only restore him and preserve him being restored), they will entirely cast themselves att his Majesties feete and be of his party,



when they see he will not be of theirs, they having more neede of his proteccion then his Majestie of their assistaunce.

The Presbiterians promise themselves great advantage from y<sup>e</sup> concessions formerly made by his father, and thinke that he may be perswaded to make good the same, espetially the agreement att Carisbrooke Castle, which it will by noe meanes be fitt for his Majestie to consent to for these reasons:—

1. It was made by his Majestie in his strict imprisonment, and when he had not time enoughe to weighe ye consequence of every clause, some of which are very mischeivous, if not destructive, to y<sup>e</sup> kingly power; and upon the promise of those with whome he contracted that it should only be a ground for them to unite Scotland for him, and should never be exacted from his Majestie in performaunce.

2. It was to save his Majesties lief, in which case many things may be yeelded to, which in y<sup>e</sup> case of liberty are not fitt. And it was immediatly declyned and violated by y<sup>e</sup> principle person engaged on that party (the Lord Lowden), and not observed by any of that party, who, insteede of performing what they were bound to with reference to y<sup>e</sup> Kings party, declared against them in publike, and in their private addresses to y<sup>e</sup> Prince insisted upon his renouncing the exercise of his religion in y<sup>e</sup> forme he had always used, and which was established by law, and would not suffer him to be attended by any chaplaine of his owne and excepted against y<sup>e</sup> presence of many other his faithfull servaunts, directly contrary to y<sup>e</sup> said Agreement.

3. The end which y<sup>e</sup> King proposed to himself by that Agreement was such a combinacion betweene y<sup>e</sup> Scots and y<sup>e</sup> Presbiterians in England that y<sup>e</sup> Army would have bene driven to consent likewise to it, and soe, there being a Parliament reddey to confirme and settle any Agreement, a generall peace might ensue in all his Dominions; whereas now there must be a warre inevitably, and any Agreement y<sup>e</sup> King can make is not to make a peace but to

strengthen his party, and therefore he must take y<sup>e</sup> more heede least, inclynynge too much to the Presbyterian, he loose more of his owne party then he getts by y<sup>e</sup> other, as doubtlesse he would doe if he consented to that Agreement of Carisbrooke, in which there be many particulars which (considering there is now noe Parliament) his Majestie hath noe power to performe and consequently not reason to promise.

There are two negative conclusions which seeme necessary for his Majestie to make to himselfe before or att y<sup>e</sup> entrance to any Treaty with what party soever, and from which noe necessity of his affaires should make him swarve.

1. First, to treat with noe party which shall refuse frankly and entirely to joyne with his Majesties party, which he is not only obliged to insist on in honor and prudence, for who will relye on him, if they once see he deserts his old faithfull servaunts, against whome nothing can be objected but their fidelity to ye crowne (all crimes and guilt by y<sup>e</sup> lawe let them be tryed for), but for his owne security, which will depend on those especially who have bene faithfull to him throughout the hard tryall they have undergonne.

2. Never to admit y<sup>e</sup> resurreccion of the olde accursed Parliament by vertue of the Bill for Continuaunce, which the Presbyterian Scotts will wonderfully desire for y<sup>e</sup> making good all the Pacts and Agreements betweene y<sup>e</sup> two Nations during y<sup>e</sup> Rebellion, and wilbe likewise affected by the Civill Presbyterians, whose designe is to undermyne and controwle the Regall power, which would be unavoidably donne, if they could againe get a perpetuall Parliament on foote, after soe immense a Jurisdiction challenged by it. But that being without question in lawe determynd by y<sup>e</sup> death of y<sup>e</sup> King, his Majestie will take heede of allowing the like againe, as he hopes to preserve his lief and crowne.

Care must be taken that every ouerture or discourse from a particular person be not looked upon as an argument of a Treaty, but only generall aunswares made to generall discourses, such as

are mencioned before ; and before the King obliges himself to any particular concessions, that he know precisely :—

1. The order and methode they intend to proceede by.
2. The persons of name whome they especially depend on.
3. What parte they have in y<sup>e</sup> army.
4. What portes and townes they rely on.
5. How the fleete or any parte of it stand affected to them.

All which being cleerely stated, his Majestie will consent to many things, which except upon such a reasonable evidence of successe it wilbe very inconvenient to purpose or mencion.

LORD HATTON.

2 Sept.  
12 Octob. (*sic*), 1649.

SIR,

I did not entend to trouble you by this Post, but finding great dilligence and care used *by Lord Jermyn*<sup>a</sup> to spread all ill newes which may reflect ether upon *Marq. Ormond* or *Marq. Montrosse* makes me as sedulous to divulge what ether is probably good in our affaires. The inclosed from my old correspondent (to whom yett you have injoynd me noe service by not assigning a cypher and a line of communication) will, I suppose, give you a discreete account of the occurrences in England. And with itt you shall find a copy of the orders of the Councell board, which I hope are those you meane, I am sure are such as were when tyme was delivered me by Mr. Wolley. I understand heere from a good hand, who had itt from Mr. Ayton,<sup>b</sup> the gentleman usher (of whom I heare a good report from very honest men), that the

<sup>a</sup> "Mr. Welworth," a pseudonym, in Nicholas's summary on the back of the letter.

<sup>b</sup> John Ayton or Aytoun, nephew and heir of Sir Robert Ayton, Master of Requests, etc.

History of the Church of Scotland written by the late Archbishop of St. Andrewes<sup>a</sup> is come into his Majestyes hands att his being in Holland and his (*sic*) by him entrusted to some persons there of whom his Majesty hath full command. I assure you itt is of very great concernment towards the painting forth of the Presbitery and some things of other consideration. I am now enabling my selfe fully to understand the affaires of that nation in relation to his Majesties service and should be very glad if I might obteyne the perusall of that booke, which if the King please (as I doubt not) to give way to, a warrant under his hand directed to them that keepe itt to deliver itt for his use to the bearer would come seasonable by Capt. Meade,<sup>b</sup> by whom I could send itt into Holland and take sufficient care for the safe conveyance of itt to my hands, who I dare promise you (by the little insight I have allready into those affaires) will not disserve his Majesty by itt. I am a little zealous in this particular for many reasons. I know I neede give you noe advertisements to be wary in any free communication *with Sir Geo. Ratcliffe*<sup>c</sup> *here*; yett I pray beleieve I have some reason for itt, his addresses heere being very extravagant both to the persons and in the matter, and his bragges of correspondence as wild. Wee both know him soe well, I had not sayed thus much, had not something crossed my way this morning . . . .

C. P.

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<sup>a</sup> John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St. Andrews, 1615—1639. His *History of the Church and State of Scotland* was published at London, 1655, fol.

<sup>b</sup> Captain Robert Meade, Student of Christ Church in 1634, and M.D. in 1646; author of the comedy "Combat between Love and Friendship," 1654 (Wood, *Athenæ*, iii. p. 342). He was at this time designed for a mission to Sweden. His instructions, dated Jersey, 11 Nov. 1649, are in Eg. MS. 2542, f. 17.

<sup>c</sup> Sir George Radcliffe, of Overthorpe, co. York, Secretary to Strafford in Ireland, knighted in 1633.

## LORD HATTON.

9  
15 Octob., 1649.

SIR,

. . . . . When you arrive att your journeyes end <sup>a</sup> and Cap. Meade with you, itt will appeare by the length of those letters I sent, as well by him as others by the Post directed as you appointed me, that it were civility now to forbear whatever tended not to your immediate service ; and yett I have soe much of the world I cannot lay my selfe soe much aside as peradventure were fitt, but I will not take up your tyme with more then the conjuncture of affaires att present necessitate me unto. Omitting therefore for the present *the ill offices done me to the Queen of England by Lord Jermyn and Mr. Long falsly informing her that Lord Hatton did her the worst offices that were done the Queen of England to the King* and such as stuck most with him, all which was *revealed unto me by Sir Edw. Hyde*, and yett nether hee nor I could discerne itt *by our observation of the Queen*. More of this you shall know heereafter ; in the meane tyme *Lord Hatton* hartily wisheth himselfe as cleere from all sinne to God as he is innocent in this particular, and he beleeves you durst be his compurgator. The use I make of itt is that *Mr. Long is Lord Jermyns spy*, and when he wants truth must serve him with lyes against those that are not his creatures. And next I observe their great designe to intitule and engage *the Queen* to espouse as *her owne quarrell whatever reflects upon Lord Jermyn*, for happily something of that kind they might discover, but sure I am not of the other. But my present bussines is first

<sup>a</sup> Nicholas had just joined the King in Jersey. Writing immediately after to Hatton, 7<sup>th</sup> Oct., he remarks, "If I could have imagined that businesses of so vast importance and consequence had been managed with so little order, secrecy, and providence, I should not have made so much haste hither, where two or three honest men can do little or no good" (B. M., Add. MS. 4180, f. 10b). In another letter, 13<sup>th</sup> Oct., he writes, "The King [is] yet unwilling to let it appear or be known that I am his secretary, because of some engagement I believe to the Queen" (*ibid.*).



to acquaint you that two dayes since *Sir Wm. Ballentine*<sup>a</sup> dining with *Lord Jermyn*, being thither invited as most of that knot are dayly, itt was there discoursed that *the King had sent one to the Queen of Sweade without acquainting the Queen of England with it*; but that those who had their hands in itt had incurred the utmost displeasure and revenge *the Queen of England she could effect with the King*. And yesterday *Sir Wm. Ballentine* repeated this (as spoken at that place) unto a person whom he could not but be assured would tell itt *me*, and expressed itt in a confident boasting threatning way. *Lord Hatton* desires me to tell you he little values the threats of ether of these men, and much less doth he feare the pursuing of his master his bussines. And though he entendes his actions shall be such as will endure the test, yett he thinkes itt possible they may stirr up *the Queen of England* by false suggestions to weaken him if they can in his master his opinions (which is the marke att which all his services and ambitions shoote), and therefore he thinkes itt reasonable to fortifie himselfe what he can, as well by outward addresses as by the sincerity of his owne hart. But he is soe ignorant what way to take that he wholly referres himselfe to your directions and assistance, as well what you thinke should be done there with you as how he should comport himselfe here: whether shall he att *Capt. Meades* retorne let *the Queen* know he is goeing and desires to know what service *she will command Capt. Meade* or whether shall noe nottice be taken heere of any thing (which I am sure is best for *the kings service and honour*). What you advise I will observe, and how farr forth and in what degree upon your observation, experience and tryall of *His Majesties nature and disposition* you thinke att best leasure may be informed *his Majestie* by way of preventing any of their little underhand designes that he may know the persons and

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Bellenden, of Broughton (see above, p. 3); recently returned from Sweden, where he had been left by the Earl of Brentford "in the nature of an agent for our King," Nicholas to Ormonde, 11 Sept. (*Orm. Papers*, i. p. 311).

the grounds of their mallice and attempts if they proceed, *I leave wholly to your affection and judgement.* I saw a letter from your parts advertising the *Earl of Brainfords<sup>a</sup> departure from his Majesty.* Truly by what I have of late discovered in these parts I thinke itt very happy. I have heere spoke with a person of creditt (*the Earle of Seafort*), who assures me he was attempting an underhand treaty and composition with *the Scotch rebels.*<sup>b</sup> When wee are well sifted and all our dross gone wee shall doe better.

. . . . .

CHARLES PARKER.

LORD HATTON [?].

Paris, 11 Novem., 1649.

The persons held as chiefe saints in the Presbyterian Kalender and devotion are Lo. Percy, Lo. Culpeper, Mr. Long, and Dr. Fraiser,<sup>c</sup> who, remember I told it you, will breed ill blood in Marq. Montrosse and his party, if he be not removed. I pray beleeeve I take not up my intelligence slightly that I send to you. But to gaine credible persons either to hazard themselves so farr as is necessary for manifest and apparent discoverys, much lesse to avow in publique and openly to averre all they know, I find it utterly impossible, whilst most men to be trusted in these par-

<sup>a</sup> Patrick Ruthven, cr. Lord Ruthven of Ettrick in 1639, Earl of Forth in 1642, and Earl of Brentford after the battle of Brentford, in 1644; one of the oldest and most experienced of the Royalist generals, having been trained in the service of Gustavus of Sweden. He died in 1651.

<sup>b</sup> "The K. saith the E. of Brentfords private treaty with the Scots rebels is not without his Majesties privy, who is assured there will be no prejudice thereby to him," Nich. to Hatton, 23 Oct. (B. M., Add. MS. 4180, f. 11).

<sup>c</sup> Alexander Fraser, M.D. of Montpellier in 1635, and of Cambridge in 1637; F.R.C.P., 23 Nov. 1641. He accompanied Charles to Scotland as his physician in 1650, but was ordered by the Committee of Estates on 27 Sept. to quit the Court within twenty-four hours.

ticulars are possessed (and it passeth my skill to uncharme them) with a perswasion that Lo. Jermyn, Lo. Culpeper, Mr. Long, &c., are soe fixed and rivetted into the Kings court either by the Queenes power, their owne interest, the advantage of the Kings gentle and sweet nature and disposition, or, to speake their owne words (for a great advantage to the cure is the searching the wound to the bottome), his Majestys indifferency towards all and outward countenancing of these, as much if not more then others, which ocular demonstration to lookers on is more then all that can be distilled into their eares by me and for which they have only my word, as they thinke, against their owne sence. These arguments perswade them that, although Lo. Jermyn, &c., should not enjoye his Majesties good opinion, yet Lo. Jermyn nor his creatures neither care nor are the worse for it nor honest men the better, whilst these persons by their presence about the King discover his counsell, worke their owne ends to the destruction of his Majestie and his party and posterity. I urge to them his Majestys justice (whereof we have all cause to be glad), that he will not punish without particulars legally prooved. They answer, it is a very good rule where either life or destruction is pressed, but they cannot allow it for a rule in politiques, where no more is sought for but removing certaine persons from his Majestys presence and counsell, although they were disposed in remoter imployments of honour and profitt. And in earnest, Sir, I know not what to reply. It is not long since it was thought policy to lay aside and turne out of office both able and honnest servants and officers of the Kings. I cannot say I liked either the grounds or successe of that policy. But yet I must needs say that, if on the other hand his Majestie shalbe possessed with such a tendernes towards persons of whom his most loyall party are more then diffident and himselfe more then doubtfull that he should make nice of securing himselfe and satisfying honest men in a way neither sharpe nor injurious even to the suspected persons themselves, I feare the seeming

justice of this will not protect his Majestys cause or person from danger, if not ruine, nor quiet the minds of his poore loyall and suffering subjects. To speake freely, Sir, it were heartely to be wished that the whole court should be purged; but, if that cannot yet be, noe minute ought to be neglected in purging the Councell, and therein especially to take care that both the secretaries be of the highest integrity and concordance. Those are instruments which will afford noe dallying with, and either being naught may ruine the greatest monarck in the world before he shalbe convicted in a legall formall way of plaine evidence and witnes. I doubt not of the remove of Mr. Long and that many other considerable things will be done when Prince Rupert comes to you.

As to the busines of the Jewells you will find a notable juggle; for, whereas divers of the Crowne Jewells were free when the King was here and sometime since, now very lately (as they say, upon advertisements given to Lo. Jermyn from Jersey) he hath taken up divers of the Queenes owne jewells that were pawned for her private and particular occasions and Lo. Jermyn hath layed newly to pawne in their roome the Crowne Jewells, and as long as he may be bold and can shelter himselfe by the Queene, expect nothing but these trickes. But this designe might have been defeated when the King was here, if he had been pleased to have listned to what was proposed, which backwardnes in him then makes Sir Rich. Forster<sup>a</sup> and others afraid to informe throughly in these particulars.

*Endorsed by Nicholas: Extract of  
severall important particulars.*

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[LORD HATTON?]

Paris,  $\frac{1}{10}$  Novem., 1649.

There is lately come to my knowledge a particular that referres to money; fourteene hundred pounds due to his Majesty, perhaps

<sup>a</sup> Treasurer of the Household of Charles II.

more. The case is this: when the Princesse Royall went first over to Holland, there was delivered out of the Jewell House a sufficient proportion of plate into the hands of the officer to whose attendance it belonged for the Princesse Royalls service untill she should come into Holland. And when she was there settled this plate remained in the hands of that officer, who was to be always responsable for it to the place whence it came. This person continued alwayes after in the Queenes Court and in all removes carried it along with him locked up in trunks. In fine, by accident this person was drowned, and Sir Henry Wood seizes the plate and at his last going for England removes it from the Louvre (being after the late kings murther) and swore he would see it delivered into the Jewell House in England. Whether he did or no I know not; but, if all you consult there were not informed hither, he might be so surprised in the examination as would bring out the truth. A verier villaine lives not, I can prove by most credible witnesses, and such as are willing to justify it publiquely. Such a dialogue betwixt this rogue, Osier and Tarberre, as you would imagine from the other two; and yet this rascall spake worse then they and more contemptuously of our late blessed king and of our deare master then the other two did.

*Endorsed by Nicholas: Advertisement  
concerning plate to the vallue of 1400*l*.*

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#### WILLIAM COVENTRY.<sup>a</sup>

12<sup>th</sup> November, st. vet., 1649.

That part of the letter which I here give you is without the alteration of one sillable thus:—It is thought fitt here that the King fix a Councell of some few sober and discreet men here, who may

<sup>a</sup> Youngest son of Lord Keeper Coventry; Secretary to the Duke of York after the Restoration, and knighted in 1665. He is identified as the writer by Birch's extract from Nicholas's reply, "4<sup>th</sup> Dec., to M<sup>r</sup> Coventry: 'K. approves of the Proposition sent M<sup>r</sup> Cov. by Sir Gilbert Talbot for a fixt Council in England to be named by his Majesty'" (Add. MS. 4180, f. 11b).



meete constantly and consult upon all matters that may concerne his Majesties service, as the meanes to unite the heartes of all the sober Royalysts, allay the extravagant humours of the indiscreet ones, resolve how farr to joyne with the Presbiterians and upon what reserves, prepare such summes as may be necessary both for his Majesties present support and the advancement of a warr, time all mens actions that they may not miscarry, either by precipitancy or slacknesse, countertermine the severall practices of the Councell of State and the like; which while men are left to themselves they doe but blindly prosecute and not advance the businesse they affect. Therefore it is the advise of your friends that you make a journey and move the King in privat to write to Lord D: of Richmond, Marq. Hertford, Ea. Southampton and whom else he shall make choice of for his Councell here in England, and committ to one person of his Privy Councell with him of generall approbation, such as Sir Edw. Nicholas, to correspond constantly with them here, that they may rightly understand each other. What secrecy will be requisite in the management of this businesse at Court for the effecting his Majesties designs here and the preserving his friends from discovery I need not tell you. All the difficulty will be to make these noblemen engage; therefore it will be necessary that his Majestie write to them severally (under a charracter in sacke) to embrace it, or, if they thinke it subject to discovery for such eminent persons to meet often, then each to appoint a confiding friend under them that may take directions from them to conferre with recourse to their judgements in all matters of concernement. Your answer speedily in this I pray.

*Copy.*

*Endorsed by Nicholas:* Proposition for  
a councell to be settled in E[ngland]  
made by G. T.<sup>a</sup> to W. C.

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<sup>a</sup> Sir Gilbert Talbot, of Salwarpe, co. Worc.; knighted at Oxford, 5 Jan. 1644. He had been Resident, etc., at Venice, 1637-1645, and Gentleman of the Chamber to Charles I.

## LORD HATTON.

Paris, 4 Decemb., st. no., 1649.

. . . . Her Majestys quarrell to Sec. Nicholas is that he hath joyned himselfe with a faction in opposition to her Majesty, and which laboured to divide the King and the Queene; and being urged for a particular wherein, instance was made in the busines of the Crowne Jewells, which was represented by S<sup>r</sup> John Berkeley and M<sup>r</sup> Long to be after this manner: that Sec. Nicholas should come privatly to the King and urge him to presse his mother for all her jewells and that thereto the King should make no answer, but in his fashion shew much discontent at Sec. Nicholas and his motion; yet neverthesse at another time Sec. Nicholas, taking occasion from his Majestys great wants, should come againe unto the King as before, but with much more roughnes and sharpnes, and tell the King he deserved to be in those wants, since he would let Lo. Jermyn and the Queene goe away with and enjoy the Jewells, rather then he would call for them with that majestie and command that he ought, and hereupon the King grew very chollerick and angry and did snap him up very short, telling Secr. Nicholas that he did ill to goe about to breed differences with and set him out with the Queene his mother, and assuring Sec. Nicholas it should not be in his or any mans power to effect it. . . . Lo. Jermyn did within these three dayes vow unto a Scot (sett on purposely to discover, being in heart wholly for Marq. Montrosse) that Lo. Jermyn and the Queene did and would use all their interest in the King to perswade him to put himselfe into the hands of Mar. Argile and Hamilton, and to goe into Scotland. I am confident and assured by some agents I can employ that I may discover very much of M<sup>r</sup> Longs jugglings and proling negotiations in England between M<sup>r</sup> Long and all his correspondents in England, but I will not wade into this or any other busines till I understand from Sec. Ni[cholas] how firme, constant and secret the King is to Sec. Nicholas. I pray doe me the favour to discover for me (and move

it in my name, if you please) whether the King doth really entend the busines of Sweade and in the same degree of height as wee apprehend it, or whether his opinion is changed as to the busines or to the person of Lo.<sup>o</sup> Hatton. Perhaps there may be an unwillingnes to tell me, but truly I shall take it for a very great favour, and a double favour if Capt. Meade may likewise be dismissed from that employment, who finds so slow and unwilling a dispatch; for I shall save that money in my purse by his stay that will keepe me a yeare, and I vow before God I beare his charges as yet out of my owne purse.

*Endorsed:* Extract of a letter from Mr. Cha. Parker.

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[LORD HATTON.]

Paris, 24 Decem., 1649, st. no.

The long-looked for Capt. Meade came at last. Upon the delivery of his letter to the Queene she told him he must come againe, for untill Mr Longs letter was decyphered she knew not what to aske him or say to him, and assigned him the next day; but Lo. Jermyn at first word asked him for his instructions, who was prepared to answer he had them not about him. The next day when Capt. Meade came unto the Queene, her Majesties question was to see his instructions, which he forthwith fetched, upon sight whereof she, good lady, rested fully satisfied; but Sir John Berkley (who is a councellor of the Quorum at the Louvre) tooke great exceptions (as I heare since from one to whom he expressed himselfe) at the perusing of the instruccions, which did enjoyne Capt. Meade to keepe intelligence with Marq<sup>s</sup> Montrose, but did not command Capt. Meade to give an account to the Louvre of all his actions, treatys, proceedings and negotiation in Sweade or elsewhere. In earnest, it is very strange to me to see how magisterially Sir Jo. Berkeley carryes himself here and with what contempt he

talkes of the Privy Councillors, both in this and the last Kings time, not excepting his friend Sir Edw. Hyde. Capt. Meade went hence on Tuesday. Had I knowne they had been so tender of making use of another secretarie then Mr Long, I should have been as tender and lett alone the busines. This is it which Mr Longs agents spread abroad and divulge everywhere to draw him correspondents. Your old servant Mr Oudart hath now in two letters together ratled up Sir Rich. Browne<sup>a</sup> for not making single application unto Mr Long, who he saith is able to doe him more good then all other his correspondents in Jersey can doe, and elegantly tells him, if he doe not more rubb that iron (meaning Mr Long), he may perhaps find it more stubborne then he is aware, with much more upon this subject. It was well you sent the Kings declaracion<sup>b</sup> to my correspondent, for, although it first came unto Berkenheads<sup>c</sup> hands, yet so ill a fame and creditt hath he amongst the Kings party in England that the printers were very unwilling to trust him by adventuring upon the worke untill Mr Parker confirmed them, who left his sicke bed to see it pasted upon the Exchange and other places by and did take care by y<sup>e</sup> Posts and all the Carriers of that weeke to send packetts of those declarations into all partes of England. I pray endeavour to take off his Majestie from backing those who presse the Lady Savile<sup>d</sup> upon a blanc letter and you shall speedily find the fruits of it, for some of her friends have lustily promised my way, if the other be not pressed

<sup>a</sup> "I have heard of other such like practises of my old servant Oudart as that which you mention to be used by him to Sir R. Brown. Such pranks will in a little time discover he is much of the humour and conditions of his new master Mr Long." Nich. to Hatton, 29 Dec. (Add. MS. 4180, f. 11b).

<sup>b</sup> The Declaration dated at Jersey, 21 Oct. 1649, announcing his determination to avenge his father's murder, etc.

<sup>c</sup> John Berkenhead or Birkenhead, Fellow of All Souls in 1640 by the favour of Laud, and knighted, probably, in 1649. He was writer of the Royalist *Mercurius Aulicus*. Perhaps, however, his brother, Isaac Berkenhead is meant.

<sup>d</sup> Anne, daughter of Lord Keeper Coventry, and widow of Sir William Savile, Bart., of Thornhill, co. York.

upon, which she conceives very ruinous to be put into hands she dare not trust, nor indeed is she in her owne condicion in case for it without calling in helpe of friends, and then we are dashed. I suppose his Majestie is put upon this by some who hope to gett the money, and it will, I am sure, be as much, if not more, for his Majesties service it should come to our hands then any other. I have at this very instant received a letter from y<sup>e</sup> Lady Savile (who is much perplexed at y<sup>e</sup> busines of y<sup>e</sup> letter), the summe whereof is, if his Majestie will declare he directed noe particular letter to her, but understanding by me her willingnes towards his service, that what she shall with her owne conveniency and ability and by her interest in her friends by me convey for his service he shall accept of as kindly as y<sup>e</sup> rest of her services, with as many kind words as you please, His Majesty shall find (upon my receipt of this) I shalbe able to doe him service in advancing his busines to the content of those that supply him. I am glad y<sup>e</sup> King will write to y<sup>e</sup> Louvre concerning y<sup>e</sup> Church of England, but I wish you would get him to put in a word or two that Deane Cosens<sup>a</sup> might have some pay, for they give him not a penny, and, when every groome and lacquay was paid this Christmas in some proportion, Sir Hen. Wood told him there was order for fower pistolls for him, which was intended as a scorne; and we heare they are now ashamed of the designe of putting downe the service, but have found a neater way of starving out their parson and then they thinke the congregation will dissolve quietly. Indeed, he is a most worthy person. I doe much rejoyce at the assurance you give me of his Majestys constancy to Pr. Rupert, Marq<sup>s</sup> Ormond and Marq<sup>s</sup> Montrose; for, beleieve it, in those hands his game lyes, and I hope a faire game is dealt, if he suffer not cheaters to looke into their hands and betray the game. I am very sensible of the

<sup>a</sup> John Cosin, Dean of Peterborough in 1640; made Bishop of Durham in 1660. His difficulties as Protestant Chaplain to the Royalists at Paris are enlarged upon by Clarendon, ed. 1843, p. 757.



assurance his Majesty gives you of his constancy and reallity in the busines of Sweade and my part in it. The old Princesse of Condé<sup>a</sup> sent an extraordinary fatt mutton to the Queene as a kind of monster for the fatnes of it, and in the belly of the sheepe were two thousand crownes. Notice being given of it before, it was at the Louvre carried into Sir Hen. Woods chamber and there anatomized before it was shewed anywhere else. I doe not beleewe you shall have any of this mutton pyes to Jersey. What the meaning is, we know not (except Lo. Jermyn designs to possesse himself of all the Queen is worth), but he now makes money of everything. This last weeke he sold the Queenes plate of her Chappell for two thousand five hundred pounds and yet had of the Savoye men fower thousand pounds in the house.

*Endorsed: Extract from Paris.*

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QUESTIONS RESOLVED ON IN COUNCELL AT JERSEY CONCERN-  
ING A TREATY WITH THE SCOTS.

Jan., 1649[50].

1. Whither an Agreement with the Kingdome of Scotland be not an effectuall meanes to save Irland, recover the Kings Right in England and to bring the Murtherers of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s Father to condigne punishment?

Resolved affirmatively.

2. Whither a Treaty upon honorable termes with those who have now sent Addresses to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> from Scotland be not a probable meanes to obtaine such an Agreement?

Resolved affirmatively; only Secretarie Nicholas delivered his

<sup>a</sup> Charlotte de Montmorency, widow of Henry II. Prince de Condé, who died in 1646; in early youth the object of the infatuated passion of Henry IV., whose daughter's necessities she now relieved in so eccentric a manner. She died in the following year.

opinion with this caution, that by a Treaty on hon<sup>ble</sup> termes he intends a Treaty without prejudice to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s affaires under the Marquis of Ormond or Marq<sup>s</sup> of Montrose his command.

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LORD HATTON.

SIR,

(11)

Paris,  $\frac{2}{15}$  Jan., 1649.

I have receaved yours of the  $\frac{2}{31}$  Dec. last, whereby I perceave you are launched into the depth of Councells, and I pray God your *additionall pilates of all the Lords there with you in Jersey* dash you not against a rock. Itt is a strange thing and most stupendious to my poore apprehension that *Kings and Princes* will not consider the dire and sad events that often befall<sup>s</sup> *them by having ill persons* in places about them and attendance upon them. How slight a matter was it made to have *those Lords of the King of Englands retinue*, since it was sayed *they should not be of his Majestys Councell and that the King knew how they were Presbyterianly biased* and enclined utterly against his blessed Fathers and his Majesties (as wee hope) opinion, judgement, and resolutions, except *one or two at most* ! And now how easily have these persons *by the Louvre Presbyter and Scot designe been* conveyed and slid into *his Majestys Councell* with much advantage over the true *Councillors, who are under an oath* which these new ones are not ! And I pray consider *this action of his Majesty* doth infinitely discontent his owne party, who looke upon [most] of those as persons whom they beleave even his Majesty is diffident off, but they more. Nether can any sort or condition of men looke upon these as persons that represent them or have any tye upon them of state to take care of the Publick as the Kings Privy Councell have; soe as it is evident that heereby his Majesty grants this grace and favor only to soe many individuall persons as he hath *now called and their severall patrons* to the very great dejection of all his frends by very sad presages. During the flourishing reignes of our most glorious Princes these kind of

*Councillors* were never heard off; when ever they exeeded a *Privie Councill* their next resort was unto a *Parliament*, chiefly because there was the purse strings to be untied and there was a representative which noe other assembly can make. And what the end and aime of the last great *Councill of Yorke* was wee have soe sharply felt that I shall never wish the *King* should impart his secrets or seeke advises to ground resolutions upon unto or from any but a well chosen competent number of wise and discreete, but above all religious and faithfull, sworne *councillors*. And this new course occasioned by the taking in *weake and unpopular persons* through private importunityes (as in the last *Kings time*), and the keeping allwayes attending about his person a competent number of such experienced persons whose fidelity have approved themselves unto his *Majestys* owne judgement and giving to such, soe chosen and attending, the due countenance justly belonging to their place for his service are the causes of these inundations by breaking downe the bankes of state and pollicy. And the next bout willbe to challenge a right to be thus called upon every extraordinary occasion, and that shallbe an extraordinary occasion which they will call soe. If my discourse with the length or impertineny tire you, I pray chide me out of itt and I shall as readily obey, as in this I doe to your former commands which encouraged me to discourse thus. In the next place I hold it necessary to advertise you that the same account which you were pleased to favor me with, and which I place amongst the many others I know not how to requite, (*I mean the account of soe much as is hitherto resolved in Councill concerning a Treaty with the Scots*) was sent unto *Sir R. Browne by Oudart*, excepting that most honest and juditious clause of exeption which *Sec. Nicholas* put in on the behalfe of *Marquis Ormond* and *Mar. Montrose*. Nevertheless I assure you I have not acknowledged any part of that inclosed paper to any nor will I. *The Louvre* say the *Secr. Nicholas* is so much valued by the *King* and so popular with his *Majestys* party that it is fitt for them to keep

faire with *Sec. Nicholas*, and to that end resolve the *Queen of England* shall write unto him a very kind letter, which *Sir John Berkeley* shall bring him. I perceave my letter is not come yett to your hands, wherein I gave you an account of *Capt. Meades* dispatch from hence long since. And I have newly receaved a letter from him from the *Hague*, where he found *Sir Wm. Ballentine* doeing all the mischief he can. *Capt. Meade* is gone from thence and I hope is by this tyme neere *Gotenbergh*, being gone in company with *Marq. Montrose* his *Secretary*, who assures him *Marq. Montrose* is in a very prosperous condition. And I saw divers letters heere in towne to his agent heere, which tell us very many extraordinary particulars; he hath promised me an extract. If itt come tyme enough, you shall have itt; if not, the next post it shall waite on you. In the meane tyme my Landlord will send you such an account of *Ireland* as is heere beleaved by those that are best versed in the affaires of those parts and feared with much dejection by those who wish itt otherwise. I pray God grant itt hold as true as itt is and comes probable to us. As to the particular of money, you did give his Majesty a very true account; for I protest before God there is but one receive (*sic*) which is disposed off by his Majestys direction, and I obeyed that rather than emburse myselfe a penny, who have in money and bills allready advanced *Capt. Meade* two hundred pound, which I feare will not bring him back, but I will not permitt the Kings bussines to faile nor him to suffer in the execution of itt how neere soeyer it pincheth me. And when I come to give in a finall account of that warrant granted at *St. Germans*, itt will not appeare strange that itt should have the same fate that all things else which concernes his Majesty have when they come to the knowledge of those who discovered this. And itt shall appeare that the letter shewed his Majesty from England concerning that bussines was but by prevention to call whore first, least their knavery should have beene discovered. Itt is to long a story to trouble you with all in a letter, att least all at once, but itt shall

come out in due tyme. In the meane tyme lett me tell you that *my agent was told by Berkenhead, who saw him at St. Germaines,* and thwarted by your sure frend *John Ashbourneham,* unto whom *Berkenhead* imparts all he knowes or that *Mr. Long or Oudart* write unto him, insoe much as not only my frend but his brother and other frends have not dared to stirr or appeare. Whereupon I employed another who lodged me a reasonable good deere, but out comes a blanck letter and rouzeth him; but I doubt not now by your helpe to recover him and render a very good account, wherein I assure you I will nether challenge skin nor shoulder nor chine for fee, but dispose him wholly which way the Mr. of the Game shall thinke most for his advantage. And if I shall deliver into *his Majestys hand* whatever I can raise, I hope he will take care when the tyme comes that I may be supplied with sufficiency to carry me on his arrant as his messenger; and in good faith, Sir, I aime nether at gaine nor saving by the journey, for may I have but as much as that imployment will nessessarily consume over and above what I spend in my present condition, I shall not care for sparing what I now spend, and I feare all his messengers resigne not up themselves soe absolutly to his interrest above their owne. Since I perceave there was noe particular command for the letter delivered to that *good Lady* which accidentally disturbed the game I was pursueing, I cannot doubt but you will speede to me such directions as I lately desired from you as well as it relates to your particular as unto his Majesty. And you shall find a bricker returne then perhaps is expected; but if I shall convey any thing to his Majesty I shall desire none may know itt but your selfe. I cannot say more in this bussines, but that those who disturbed me will never be trusted by *the Lady, who* is scrupulous that even *her owne Brother should know it,* and soe *the King will be* the looser. But if the bussines be put into my hands, perhaps I can soe manage itt as to double the files. I thought not amiss to tell you that the exchange riseth very high heere; it is now above twenty and they say it



willbe much more. I speake itt to the end that you may consider whether itt willbe most advantage to you to draw itt over hither or whether itt fitts your owne occasions better to have itt delivered any where *in London*.

There is a bussines hath slept some while in my hands, but I have not beene idle in itt, *concerning Duke of Gloucester*.<sup>a</sup> And (*sic*) account I have received from one of neerest trust with the Duke of Gloucesters person and [who] is well affected to the Duke of Gloucesters escape but layes all the difficulties on our side from a generall diffidence of those about the King. He says for the present the bussines is spoiled through the negotiation of a certaine Knight, who pretended to be imploy'd by the King. Howbeit he will not absolutely condemne the Knight of infidelity; perhaps, he sayth, it may be indiscretion, but sure he is that the Earle of Leycester hath notice given him to looke about him and take heede of a designe in this kind, and that this warning was given him by some in place about his Majesty, but would not name them, though he saied he knew them. But such interest my frend hath in him, that when the present fitt of strictnes is over he will againe attempt him. Wee much desire to know how you will use us in the bussiness of Marsys,<sup>b</sup> yett wee cannot doubt but our opinions willbe confirmed. I pray God direct your present counsells and encrease the number of your partners in the way you are in. If the King desert Ormond or Mount Ross, if hee confirme the Scotch Parliament or take the covenant, God will never prosper him nor the world value him. If

<sup>a</sup> Henry, youngest son of Charles I.; now nearly ten years of age. With his sister, Princess Elizabeth, he was at this time under the charge of the Countess of Leicester at Penshurst, but they were both removed to Carisbrooke in the following July.

<sup>b</sup> A report by Lord Hatton, Sir Rich. Browne, Dean Cosin, and Dr. Geo. Morley concerning a French translation of the "Eikon Basilike," with an objectionable preface, by one F. de Marsys, is in Eg. MS. 2547, f. 5, dated 4 Jan. 1650. It is printed, with other papers in the Nicholas Collection relating to the subject, in Mr. Edw. Scott's introduction to the reprint of the *Eikon*, 1880.

these who desire to treat with him will exact none of these things nor require the King so act first, but invite him by some reallities in his services without impose (*sic*) conditions on him att a rate that a noble spiritt in a private person would not condescend to for an Empire, I shall wish them good speed ; if otherwise, confusion to the Kings enemyes is a justifiable prayer . . . .

Yours most faithfully and affectionatly to serve you,

CHARLES PARKER.

#### NICHOLAS OUDART.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

. . . . . It is the Kings pleasure I should follow him and their Highnesses doe both give way thereto, willingly lending me to do him service, which I confesse is the chiefe scope I have. It was my wish I could have had time enough to have had your councell when the propoosition thereof was layd before me by Mr. Long, but as that could not be had in the two dayes that I tarryed at the Hagh after my coming over, so I presume you will easily approve my following of your owne example, which is to obey when his Majestie commands. The condiciõ I attend in is to help forward dispatches all I can, and so I doe with a good will, and find Mr. Long exceeding friendly to me and affeccionat to you and in this opinion that with you he may be happily conjoyned, but neither you nor he so with the Lord Digby, who drives hard at his returne into place. He is somewhat uncertain whither he shall continue Secretary; but I find him resolute enough not to be wrought out of it over easily. The King now hath pitcht a new day for his repaire to Antwerp, Tuesday next. The Prince of Aurange with his troopes and Princesse Royall will accompany his Majestie half-way. The Princesse soone after takes her journey for Spa. Yesterday the Earl of Branford returnd from Swede with exceeding

kind errands to the King from that Queene. De Brun<sup>a</sup> the Spanish ambassador presented the King here this weeke with great civilitys from his master. One come newly from Kingsale who was there on Saterday was sennight last sayes all stands faire for the King in Ireland, Oneale<sup>b</sup> beaten by Inchiquin,<sup>c</sup> and his lordship joind with my Lord of Ormond before Dublin. The enemys ships repulsed in their attempt upon the forts at Kingsale harbours point. This ads life to the Kings affaires, who if he can sett footing on that kingdom may happily see a way made for better things, which God grant, and also to yourself. . . .

Your honors most true and affeconatly humble servant,

DE GARDE.

Breda,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Jan., 1649[50].

*Endorsed by Nicholas:* Mons<sup>r</sup> Belleau de  
Garde, that he is to attend as clerck of  
the Signet.

#### MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

SIR,

You will finde by coppys of my letters to his Majestie and Prince Rupert the nature and justice of my humble suite, and that I have presumed uppon your freindshipp to interest you in that neere concernement of mine. The plaine truth is that I have noe other visible hope of affording support to my little famely in France then may come from this; yet my desire is that you would not acquaint his Majestie with that sadd condition of theirs till you

<sup>a</sup> Antoine Le Brun, one of the Spanish negociators of the Treaty of Munster. He died in 1654.

<sup>b</sup> Owen Roe O'Neill, leader of the Catholics of Ulster.

<sup>c</sup> Murrough O'Brien, 6th Baron Inchiquin; cr. Earl of Inchiquin in 1654. He was now Royalist President of Munster, having held the same office under the Parliament down to the beginning of 1649.

are sure his compassion of them may bring noe trouble to him for want of meanes to relieve them, nor damage to his service by applying to them any thing that may considerably advaunce that. And that you may be judge of the oportunity, I have directed my wife to put my letters to his Majestie and Prince Rupert into your hands. If any thing be uppon these conditions to be hadd, you will be pleased to contrive the sending of it to my wife and to pardon soe unmannerly a trouble from

Your most affectionate servant,

ORMONDE.

Kilkenny, the 25th of January, 1649[50].

#### MARQUIS OF ORMONDE TO CHARLES II.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE,

It was become necessary for the victualling and seting forth your fleete upon the last expedition hence to raise a summ of money upon this kingdome, which upon promis of repayment by Prince Rupert was in some proportion levyed and for that purpose employed. The summ desired by his Highnesse was 4000<sup>li</sup>, whereof more then the haulf is already payd, and what remaines was parte of it charged upon countryes since fallen under the power of the Rebels and parte where your Majesties army then lay and could not therefore bee then raysed, but now that is in a way of payment and will bee put into the hands of those apoynted to make provision of victuall. It falls out that for many disbursments made by mee and for discharge of debts I have run into for your Majesties service there will remaine noe way of satisfaction but that debt which your Majestie may please to comand to bee payd for mee to Sir Edward Nicholas at shuch time and in shuch proportion of

payments as may sute with your Majesties affaires, which shall  
allways bee preferred to any other concernement of

Your Majesties most faithfull and  
most humble subject and servant,

ORMONDE.

Killkeny, the 18 of Jan., 1649[50].

THE SAME TO PRINCE RUPERT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNES,

Of the 4000<sup>l</sup> desired by your highnes to sett forth the fleete from  
hence and to make provision of victuall for it heere more then the  
halfe is already payde, and aboute 1000<sup>l</sup> more is and wilbe gotten  
in. The rest beinge placed uppon Counties since falne under the  
power of the Rebells I accompt desperate, and the 3000<sup>l</sup> certaine  
is all I looke for satisfaction of debts due to mee and from mee to  
others. Your highnes may therefore be pleased, when you finde it  
possible without inconvenience to the Kings service, to procure the  
payment of 3000<sup>l</sup>, or what proportion of it may be had, to Sir  
Edward Nicholas for my use, or, in case hee should be absent, to  
Mr. Seymour. If I knew when this letter would come to your  
highnes hands, it should give you an accompt of our condition heere  
and a larger testimony of my beeinge

Your highnes most faithfull and most humble servant,

ORMONDE.

Kilkenny, 25<sup>o</sup> Jan., 1649[50].

*Copy.*

LORD COTTINGTON.

SIR,

I have more charity then addere afflictionem afflicto. Mr. Chan-  
cellor with his horrible volume hath given you sufficient vexacion;

CAMD. SOC.

Z



therefore out of pure compassion this shalbe short. And besides, the last I had from you is of the 24<sup>th</sup> of November, in which you tell me of his Majesties goeing for Ireland; and wee since understand that that resolucion is altered, and in stead thereof his Majestie is goeing to Breda. God Almighty give a happy successe unto it.

Wee here understand nothing of Prince Rupert, nor doe wee knowe whether he be still in Lisboa or no; but wee are informed that there is a greate fleete coming to seeke him, of which wee are very apprehensive, espetially if they shall still find him in the River of Lisboa, not being certeyne how he wilbe there protected, for all the world is afraide of provoakeing those rebells, as wee find by experience in this place. But doubtlesse it would be otherwise if the peace were made, which indeed is the greate remedy; and, howsoever wee are satisfied that the Queene doth prudently and heartily endeavour it, yet I am of opinion that except some accident in France doeth in some measure incline them to it, all our labour wilbe but heaveing at a dead horse, though here they are soe desireous of it as they are contented to discend unto condicions not almost to be believed.

Wee leave no stone unturned in endeavouring to procure some reliefe for our master, and are in much hope that by our next dispatch wee shalbe able to tell you of some good successe . . .

Your humble servant,

JHON FRANCIS.

Madrid, 18<sup>o</sup> Martij, 1650.

*Endorsed by Nicholas* : Lo. Cottington from Madrid.

\*

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

4 May, 1650.

Sir Ed. H. censured by all for deserting the K. at such a time, when his personal service about him was most necessary, for an

employment which most men believe might have been performed without his help.

I much doubt your friend Sir John Berkeley hath no greater proportion of Religion than a creature of L<sup>a</sup> Jermyn's is obliged to have. But I do assure you he is as intimate with Mr. Long as ever he was with Sir E. H., and will be so till his ambitious ends are either served or till they fail, and then he will accordingly use him.

Lord Gerard<sup>a</sup> is the galantest, honestest person now about the King and the most constant to honorable principles, and very much your servant.

Mr. Denz. Holles is not in Holland that I know of, but he did by his cosin Col. Gar. [Gervase] Holles make a kind of offer of his service to the King at Jersey, which was not so accepted as perhaps he expected, and so I have not heard any more of him.

I now perceive Sir Rich. Greenville<sup>b</sup> to be, as you say, of a very odd humour, and I doubt a person not fit to be trusted with so great employments and charges as he is not only ambitious of but so pressing for as he will not serve if he must go less.

It is very evident that those Scots Presbyterians endeavour to make the K. to do such acts as may make him appear unstable in his resolutions and all good principles and not firm to his most faithful friends and servants, which will make all men to abandon him and render him despicable. And I am sorry to see that he hath not resolution enough to discountenance those he knows to be false and to cherish those he believes to be honest and faithful; which is an unhappy infirmity, but I doubt past cure in him.

<sup>a</sup> Charles Gerard, cr. Baron Gerard in 1645, and Earl of Macclesfield in 1679.

<sup>b</sup> Younger brother of Sir Bevil Grenville. He had been Major-General of the army in the West during the Civil War; and Clarendon has much to say of his character and conduct in command (*History*, pp. 504, 544, etc.). See also Lord Beauchamp's letter below, p. 180.

TO DEAN STUART.

4 May, N. S.

Mr. Long will serve all turns and says honour and conscience are bugbears ; which atheism goes amongst many rulers here for good doctrine.

TO SIR GEO. CARTERET.

4 May, N. S.

Sir Ed. Hyde would fain justify his going into Spain, but it is not in the wit of man to do it God forgive him for it.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

May  $\frac{2}{12}$ .

I cannot with any comfort continue where honour and conscience are mockeries.

Ascham <sup>a</sup> sent from the rebels of England Ambassador to Spain. My Lord Cottington knows how the E. of Bristol caused a rascally D<sup>r</sup> to be used at Madrid that had but written some defamatory passage in a book against K. James. And I can say more to you in that particular, and if I could, it would, I suppose, come too late.

TO MR. PARKER [LORD HATTON].

 $\frac{8}{18}$  May.

Will. Murray hath so dextrously behaved himself here, as he hath wrought all the Presbyterian party here to leave Hamilton, as Lord Wilmot, Lord Percy and others, and to be rather, and indeed wholly, for Marq. Argyle. And some think this is not without the knowledge and concurrence of Lord Jermyn underhand. But, however it hath been wrought, it hath much dejected Hamilton and all his friends here, as Doctor Froisard [Fraser], Sir Edw. Walker, Mr. Cooke and others.

<sup>a</sup> Anthony Ascham, appointed agent for the Republic at Hamburg in Aug. 1649, and Resident at Madrid in June, 1650. He was murdered by John Guillim, William Spark, and other Royalists the day after his arrival.

## LORD HATTON.

11 May, 1650.

SIR,

(4)

Your fifth and sixth I received both together and am very much afflicted that you are soe great a stranger to the proceedings there, and the more for the reason given for the excluding you and my good Lord Hopton, which reflects to deeply *on the honor and judgment of the King*. God helpe us, *when Hamilton, Mr. Long, Newcastle<sup>a</sup> and Buckingham rule in Councell*. Surely better were itt *his Majestie had given himself upp to be governed by his mother*, for naturall affection and education might have *pleaded for that*, whereas there can be noe excuse for this. I protest, Sir, I confess I despaire and doe want *Mr. Attorneys<sup>b</sup> faith*. Beleeve it, Sir, *Mar. Argile and the Rebels of England* doe to well understand one another, and the way that *the King now takes will nether make him feared nor valued by his ennemys*. God grant in the way now taken that *his owne party* retaine *their due obedience*, for be confident, and the London bookes already bragg of itt, that the English cavaleers are forward enough to joyne with them to oppose all the Scotts but Mount Rose; and, if he be sent to for to desist or, which is as much, to goe into Ireland, there will be, I feare, soe great a doubtfullnes and incredulity in his Majesties party that att the best they will sitt still, for they will never fight to be under a *Scotch and Louvre dominion*. *The Queene in the monastery did seeming in teares to some ladies bitterly complaine of the King of Englands condescentions to the Scots*, saying *she had a coppy of his Majesties oath now sworne to the Scots upon this treaty*, wherein his Majestie *did sweare to promote the taking of the covenant by all his family and subjects*, as likewise to doe his endeavour to *extirpate*

<sup>a</sup> William Cavendish, 1st Marquis of Newcastle. With Hamilton and Buckingham, he had recently been sworn of the King's Council (*Cal. Clar. State Papers*, ii. p. 53).

<sup>b</sup> Sir Edward Herbert.

*the common prayer booke, with many other horrid particulars, by which she said the King of England had renounced and deserted his owne Religion and soe justly exasperated and incensed all popishe Princes by engaging himselfe to persecute their religion with in all his kingdome, that he could not expect any assistance from them, nay she herself was hereby disabled to serve him. And the lady Kinelmeky,<sup>a</sup> who is esteemed Lord Jermins eccho, did tell Dr. Cosins that the King would shortly send to [the] Louvre and to Sir R. Brownes to comaund at both places to desist from the use of the Common Prayer Booke, and then she saide there would be an end of our Religion. All this I dare assure you is true, the latter told me by the Dr. himself. And, the other being spoken by the Queene of England, mistris Boyle made answere unto the Queene of England that the world did beleewe her Majestie had persuaded the King to this agreement with the Scots, to which the Queene replied, "God forbid that I should have had a hand in persuading him to sacrifice his honor or conscience." And thus you see what care is taken to represent his Majestie in the worst manner that can be to his owne party, and wee are dayly now jeered at the Louvre with the inconstancy of our master and told wee are content to be fooled with good words, whilst his ennemys enjoy good deeds. All this and much more Mr. Attorneys Lady can tell to be true, who was yesterday entertained by the Queene of England with a very cheerefully and pleasantly told long narration of all the particular probabilities and confidences of the ruine and destruction of Prince Rupert and the Navy under his comaund. And to close up all, Lord Jermyn in a jeering manner, as her ladyshipp conceived, told her he hoped now shortly Sir Edward Herbert would returne to Paris. What-*

<sup>a</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of William Feilding, Earl of Denbigh, and widow of Lewis Boyle, Viscount Boyle of Kynalmeaky, who was killed in action in 1642; cr. Countess of Guildford in 1660.



*ever his Majestie sayes concerning that busines of Mr. Long and Sir W<sup>m</sup> Ballatine, yet he will doe nothing or as good as nothing; for it is not a thing to be faintly touched, nor can any reparation be made without doeing it home and in publick. And my discerning of this humour in his Majestie was the reason why I never made you any returne of what I could have knowne out of England concerning Mr. Longs correspondencies. And there is a person of high condicion sent me word they knew where in London there were coppies of the Kings cyphers with much more. But I have already burnt my fingers enough and am very unquiet in my thoughts when I consider the King could command me to goe with him into Holland, when he intended to be governed by the Louvre and the Scots, to bring at once to soe much ruine (which not valued in comparison of his services) and scorne and contempt a person who being possessed of an estate came to follow him for noe other end and designe then meerly his Majesties service. And for me to act further in that busines of Intelligence betweene Lord Jermyn and Generall King<sup>a</sup> (which I have great reason to be confident I could doe) were but to expose myselfe to Lord Jermins mallice and revenge assisted by the Kings power, whilst I am serving thereby his Majestie; and this is a hard condition. Sir, I am soe farre from rendring you a good account of any good issue of my late troubles that I see a sad prospect forward. An intelligence I receaved since I last wrote unto you, which is that my correspondent is imprisoned in the Tower and soe hath beene these five weekes at least; and the neglect of returnes proceedes from those he intrusted, that durst not stirr upon this accident, nor*

<sup>a</sup> Sir James King; cr. Lord Eythin in the peerage of Scotland in 1642. He had served under Gustavus of Sweden, and acted as Lieut.-General of the Royalist army commanded by Newcastle. A warrant for his commission as Lieut.-General under Montrose was issued at Breda,  $\frac{20}{10}$  Mar. 1650 (*Cal. State Papers*, 1650, p. 53).

durst any freind of myne write unto me ever since, soe as to preserve me from their extreamest rigour. I have no other hopes then my freinds secrecy and fidelity and the burning of his papers; and this, I have some hints, proceeds from knaves of our owne imploying from the Louvre and your Court. Soe as, whilst his Majesty continues these wayes and persons about him, it is impossible for honest and faithfull men to serve him att any rate under their utmost ruine. I pray be pleased to informe his Majestie of this misfortune as an argument I have not beene negligent. I humbly beseech his Majestie not to speake of it, since I doe not yet heare my name upp; and lett him know, were I as much master of events and accidents as I am of my owne affection and fidelity, never should any thing happen to hinder the fruits of my service. I shall be carefull to enquire after the monny soe soone as I can with safty. I protest to God I did sent on purpose a very honest man, an English marchant, into England to negotiate this bussines and others of this nature, and he was comitted so soone as he came to London upon generall information from this Towne; but I know there willbe noe danger in that bussines, and I hope it is over by this tyme. But at present they open all letters that come in or goe out of London or England, soe as I am glad att present you sent noe letters for England. I am exceedingly satisfied that you have now certaine information from Mr. T[homas] N[eville?] that the bussines is done which I undertooke; for I am religiously observant of all reall actions to my frends that I may the better gaine pardon for infirmities and want of ceremonie. As for your being designed Ambassador for Holland, it was last weeke writt unto Sir R. Browne from (as I conceive) Mr. Long or Oudart, who write weekly unto Sir R. Browne (but I beleeve by directions I must not see their letters). My thoughts then were as yours are; and I hartily wish such an imployment, with all right preserved of your place, &c. But I would have itt on two conditions, of being to a monarch or

to noe state but Venice; and, above all, a firme and constant pay, which I know not how it is possible to have. Without this the bussines would be interpreted as to lay you aside and would prejudice you many wayes. Sir, if you please to consider I have att noe tyme soe much ease and content as when I converse with you, I hope I shall gaine pardon for this tedious letter. I pray lett us know whether the King hath deserted my Lord Mont Rose, as is heere bragged on by some, and that the next bout shall be my Lord of Ormonde; or whether, according to the finer phraise for abandoning him, his Majesty hath commanded him peremptorly into Ireland. And, good Sir, lett us know from the fountaine head whether he entend to command an extirpation of our Liturgy and forbid the use of itt heere att the Louvre and his Residents house, that wee may in tyme know how to dispose of ourselves and settle where wee may buy the exercise of that Religion which wee are forbid by our owne Prince, who professeth himselfe to be of that Religion we are. I pray, Sir, remember me to our frend *Sir Edward* [Herbert], with whom I heare you diet. I hope wee shall not see him heere soe soone nor on those tearmes were entended by the complement to his wife *by Lord Jermyn, who is making great preparation of armes and cloathes for Scotland.* Good Sir, *let honnest M Jane know I forgett not my intentions towards his service, which he had ere this found in actions, had not this accident befallen, which I hope will prove but a retardment.* I pray, *is he sworne a Clerke of the Councell?* I wish itt were acted. I see such uncertainty in promises, and, beleewe itt, better service cannot be done then to get in honest men against another day; for the present actors upon the stage cannot last. Good Sir, excuse this length from him who whilst he is willbe, Sir;

Your owne, faythfully and obediently to serve you,

C. P.

LORD BEAUCHAMP<sup>a</sup> TO CHARLES II.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

Since I had y<sup>e</sup> honour to receyve your Majesties commands it hath been my onely study how with most advantage to your service to employ y<sup>t</sup> trust which your Majesty was pleased so far above my meritt to impose in mee. To give testimoney of my faithfull endeavours in it, I shall thinke my life most happily sacrificed in obedience to your Majestys commands. I have advised with your Commissioner of each County, who are ready to embrace the first opportunity of appearing your Majestyes faythfull subjects; but finding y<sup>e</sup> countreys soe extreemly awed y<sup>t</sup>, though they affections are generally loyall, they will hardly move without some assistance from abroad, they have obleged me to joyne theyr most humble request with myne unto your Majesty for two thousand foote, with which wee doubt not in a short tyme to give your Majesty a very good account of all y<sup>e</sup> west; without it, our endeavours wee feare, though never soe faythfull, may prove fruitlesse. This bearer, M<sup>r</sup> Seymours brother,<sup>b</sup> is fully informed of all perticulers in order to your Majestyes service, y<sup>t</sup> I shall not add any thinge to these lynes but y<sup>e</sup> most humble duty of

Your Majestyes most humble and most faythfull subject,

H. BEAUCHAMPE.

May 31<sup>th</sup>, 1650.*Copy.*


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<sup>a</sup> Henry Seymour, eldest son of William, 1st Marquis of Hertford; died before his father, in 1656. See a letter from Charles II. to the Pr. of Orange in *Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 546, "A mixt party of my father's old friends, and of the Presbyterians, are now ready to rise for me in the West of England; the Marquis of Hertford and his son, the Lord Beauchamp, are the chief, and all the considerable Presbyterians join with them." Long and interesting reports by Col. Keane on the design are in *Cal. of State Papers*, for 1650, pp. 47, 152.

<sup>b</sup> John Seymour, son of Sir Edward and brother of Henry Seymour.



## THE SAME TO [HENRY SEYMOUR].

MY MOST DEARE NAMESAKE,

Though I have been very unfortunate in the miscarryage of your former addresses, this last of y<sup>e</sup> 20 of Feb. came furnished with amends for all y<sup>e</sup> rest. I cannot tell you how much I long for some opportunitye to expresse my faithfull service to his Majesty, soe great is my sense of y<sup>e</sup> Honour hee was pleased to conferr on mee, though it most unhappily miscarryed. I must not forgett to give you thanks for y<sup>t</sup> most kind caution you gave mee in your letter, for truely to engage without very firme and well-grounded hopes to effect what is designed were vaynely to hazard y<sup>e</sup> losse of y<sup>e</sup> whole busines and our discretion together. But I am confident y<sup>t</sup>, if y<sup>e</sup> kinge shall please to send y<sup>e</sup> two thousand foote wee have begged of him, it shall remove all danger of hazarding either. I beseech you therefore presse for that. There bee two persons of your acquaintance who I have reason to beleeeve will bee of great use to y<sup>e</sup> Kings service, my Lord Arundell <sup>a</sup> of Warder and Sir John.<sup>b</sup> The first of these, though in his perticuler person extreamly forward already, proposed to mee as a meanes to encourage unanimously y<sup>e</sup> whole gentry of y<sup>t</sup> profession, that if y<sup>e</sup> Kinge would be pleased to give a promise of his worde y<sup>t</sup>, when it shall please God to establish him in his throne, hee will consider so farr theyr hazarding theyr lives and fortunes in his service as to take of the burthen which y<sup>e</sup> rigour of y<sup>e</sup> Penall statutes layes on them, and hee is confident it would bee a meanes to encourage them to strech soe far theyr interest as to procure money and other very considerable assistance. And he assures mee 'tis no more then y<sup>e</sup> King hath within these 3 weekes exprest an intention of grantinge. Though

<sup>a</sup> Henry Arundel, succ. as 3rd Baron Arundel of Wardour in 1648.

<sup>b</sup> Sir John Arundel, of Lanherne, co. Cornwall, knighted 3 Aug. 1644; the representative of an elder branch of the same family as the Arundels of Wardour.



I apprehende no thinge unreasonable in y<sup>e</sup> request, I was not willing to offer it as my single opinion, but advised with some of the Westernne Commissioners, who, it being in relation to theyr estate onely not religion, thinke it not unfitt to offer from us all to y<sup>e</sup> Kinges consideration, which wee shall desire, when you have considered of it, to move as you shall thinke fitt, and by the first safe opportunity returne some answer. If y<sup>e</sup> Kinge shall thinke it reasonable, on[e] of theyr profession will wayte on his Majesty to receyve his promise. This bearer will give you some reasons why we have thought fitt to offer to y<sup>e</sup> Kinges consideration y<sup>e</sup> disposing y<sup>e</sup> Lt. Gen: [of] Horses place from Sir Rich. Gren[ville] to my Lord Shandoy.<sup>a</sup> I have now given you trouble enough and shall cease with a relation of being most intyrelly yours,

H. B.

I forgot to mention Armes and Ammunition, which I desire you to presse earnestly for.

May 31<sup>th</sup>, 1650.

*Copy.*

#### CHARLES II. TO LORD BEAUCHAMP.

MY LORD B.,

This bearer is soe fully instructed in all thinges y<sup>t</sup> I shall have little more to say but to acknowledge the very great affection you expresse to mee and to my interests. Hee will tell you what course I have taken concerninge y<sup>e</sup> 2000 men and y<sup>e</sup> armes and ammunition which you desire. For that which has been proposed concerninge the Catholics, you may assure them from mee y<sup>t</sup> I shall bee very ready and desirous to doe it as soone as it shall bee in my power. In y<sup>e</sup> meanetyme I pray advise them not to bee starteld with anything in De[clarations] put out here in my name, which

<sup>a</sup> George Bruges or Brydges, succ. as 6th Baron Chandos in 1621.

I assure you and them are forced and constrained; but pray bee very weary to whom you communicate this secret. I was ingaged to Major Generall Massey<sup>a</sup> to make him Lt. General [of] Horse before I receaved your letter for my Lord Shandois, to whom I pray make my excuse, and assure him y<sup>t</sup> I thinke him worthy of much greater trust and favor then y<sup>t</sup> command imports, as it shall appear in any thinge else y<sup>t</sup> shall bee desired for him. I pray bee carefull to linke yourselves as much with y<sup>e</sup> Presbiterians as you can, and to give them all possible satisfaction; for, though I desire y<sup>t</sup> as many of my owne party should bee in armes as can be drawne together, yet if it passe for an army of Royalists and doe not move upon the Presbiterians interest or att least with theyr consent and concurrence, I have reason to believe y<sup>t</sup> the Scots will not onely not joyne with you but even declare and fight against you. And soe wishing you all happines and good successe I remayne

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*Enclosure:—*

My Lord —. To y<sup>e</sup> end y<sup>t</sup> neither you nor your friends may take any ombrage at a Declaration which I have been forced to publish, I intreat you to informe yourselfe of this bearer, by what enforcement I was necessitated to y<sup>t</sup> De. and therefore y<sup>t</sup> neither you nor any of the rest should thinke your commission y<sup>e</sup> lesse valid by reason of y<sup>t</sup> Declaration, for I hereby declare y<sup>t</sup> notwithstanding y<sup>t</sup> or any other thinge of y<sup>t</sup> kinde or any other thinge done by mee, my intention is they doe remayne in full force and vertue according to y<sup>e</sup> tenour of them, and I shall desire you to put them in execution when you shall find it seasonable.

*Copies.*

<sup>a</sup> Edward Massey, famous for his defence of Gloucester for the Parliament in 1643; one of the "Eleven Members" impeached by the army in June, 1647, and finally "disabled to sit" on 27 Jan. 1650, soon after which he openly joined the Royalists. One of his services as a Parliamentary officer was the capture, in 1642, of Sudeley Castle belonging to Lord Chandos.

THE RELATION OF THE LORD CULPEPERS<sup>a</sup> RECEPTION AT  
THE EMPIERALL CITTIE OF MOSCO, AND HIS LO<sup>PPS</sup> QUIT-  
TING THEREOF, A<sup>O</sup>. D<sup>ni</sup>. 1650.

His Lo<sup>p</sup> was brought in a cart w<sup>th</sup> two wheeles, the forepart covered w<sup>th</sup> black bays, til such time as he came w<sup>th</sup>in halfe a mile of the gates of the Cittie. At that place waited for him (by his Ma<sup>ties</sup> speciall order) a Kneeeze (which is an ordinary Duke in y<sup>t</sup> Country) of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Houshold and Diack (which is a petty Judge). These attended in gaudy long Roabs as the fashion there is. After they had re<sup>c</sup>ed him, his Lo<sup>p</sup> was mounted on a stately white Beast, and 5 of his gent. on ordinary white horses; 8 of his servants marched along by his horse side, the rest in low carts, but not covered w<sup>th</sup> black, being 5 in number. His Lo<sup>p</sup> rode in the middle betwixt the forementioned gent.; he being in this posture, first marched three Troups of souldiers of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> owne Guards in Red Coates, then a Troupe of Grecians and Poles, all the English, Scots and Dutch Officers to the number of 50<sup>ty</sup> Persons, next these as a Guard to his Lo<sup>ps</sup> person two Regiments of horse of 1000 Troopers in each Regiment. These all accompanied his Lo<sup>p</sup> to his Lodging. Some Russ Gent. went out to meete him, but not any of quality; nor were they considerable for number. Neither do I remember that they did go w<sup>th</sup> his Lo<sup>p</sup> into y<sup>e</sup> Cittie, where, when he entred, the souldiers stood on both sides of the Streets in Armes; and his Lo<sup>p</sup> passed for an English mile to his appointed place of accommodation, which was but very meane and only one Rome tollerable in the House; 4 lodging romes was all the conveniency he had for himselfe and followers besids Kitchin and other necessaries for his black Guard.

<sup>a</sup> "For when the King went to Jersey in order to his journey into Ireland, and at the same time that he sent the Ch<sup>anc</sup>ellor of the Exchequer into Spain, he sent likewise the Lord Colepepper into Moscow, to borrow money of that duke" (Clarendon, *History*, p. 778).

His Lo<sup>p</sup> being now settled in the Cittie, there was a Guard of 100 Souldiers sett to keepe all manner of persons whatsoever from coming to speake w<sup>th</sup> his Lo<sup>p</sup> till such time as he had bin w<sup>th</sup> the Emperour. This confinement continued till he had his dispatch, which was in 14 dayes or thereabouts. His Lo<sup>p</sup> came into Mosco on Sunday y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> of May. On Tuesday following his Lo<sup>p</sup> had audience, which was after this manner. The Soldiers stood in armes as formerly on both sides of y<sup>e</sup> Streets from his Lo<sup>ps</sup> house to the Court; his Lo<sup>p</sup> rode as he did when he entred the Cittie w<sup>th</sup> his 5 gent. before him, one whereof immediately before his Lo<sup>p</sup> bore the Kings Letter in his right hand, and 10 of his ordinary servants walked by his horse side. When his Lo<sup>p</sup> was up the Court Stayers, there met him a Privy Councillor, who was sent from his Ma<sup>tie</sup> to conduct his Lo<sup>p</sup> into the presence; where being come, hee sawe the Emperour on a Throne and an Emperiale Crowne on his head. His Lo<sup>p</sup> being placed right before him, he spake the Emperours Titles, then the Kings; then his Lo<sup>p</sup> excused the Kings not sending a present to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>. After which ceremonies he desired leave to deliver the Kings Letter, which his Lo<sup>p</sup> did to y<sup>e</sup> Emperours owne handes. His Lo<sup>p</sup> was desired to kisse his Ma<sup>ties</sup> hand, but he refused; yet came up to the Throne and in a Complement kist the hem of his Garment, and so presented 10 of his servants, which were graced to kisse his Ma<sup>ties</sup> hand. Then they brought his Lo<sup>p</sup> a forme covered with a Turkey Carpet. His Lo<sup>p</sup> sate downe and covered himselfe, then after halfe a quarter of an hower his Lo<sup>p</sup> stood bare, thincking to speake to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, but was prevented by his Ma<sup>ties</sup> asking of the Kings health, his owne and his gent., all which his Ma<sup>tie</sup> did standing. And then sitting down his Ma<sup>tie</sup> told him he would have his Letter interpreted, and hee should have a speedy answer, and what related to his busines there should be Commissioners appointed to Treat with him. So his Lo<sup>p</sup> tooke his Leave for that time and hee had a dinner sent him to his House

from his Ma<sup>tie</sup> of 100 dishes of Meate, which was instead of dining w<sup>th</sup> his Ma<sup>tie</sup>.

On Wednesday senight following his Lo<sup>p</sup> was againe sent for to the Court, the soldiers placed as before and all ceremony performed as at his Lo<sup>p</sup>s reception ; only he sate not now, but when his Lo<sup>p</sup> was come to the Emper<sup>s</sup> view he told him, “ My Lord, I have considered my Brothers Letter and am willing to assist him. I have appointed Commissioners to treat with you ; what they shall doe I will approve.” So his Lo<sup>p</sup> was requested to walke to the Lords Commission, which were Kneeze Demetre Alleyse, with Trobetesky, Kneeze Michalo Petrowich, Prounska Puskingys ye Chancello<sup>r</sup>, Michalo Vriowch (these foure are noble men and all of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Privy Councell), and Almass Euauonth. And when they had repeted their titles for the space of 2 howrs at least, they fell upon the busines and his Lo<sup>p</sup> gave his desires in writing, which they accepted. After his Lo<sup>p</sup> had spake severally to each paper as he delivered them, so answering divers things, and some not, they parted and his Lo<sup>p</sup> had a dinner sent him home.

The Tuesday following his Lo<sup>p</sup> was sent for to Court ; there attended all the soldiers as formerly. After his Lo<sup>p</sup> came into the Empero<sup>rs</sup> presence, the Emperour told his Lo<sup>p</sup> he had spoke with the L<sup>ds</sup> Commissioners, and that they should dispatch his businesse in his Ma<sup>ties</sup> absence, but being upon his progres thought good to tell him that he should not returne into Mosco in sixe weeks or two monethes time. He likewise told his Lo<sup>p</sup> by the advice of the Commission<sup>rs</sup> and Lords of the Councell that hee had lent the King his Master 20,000 Robles for 3 yeares time and no longer, and that his Lo<sup>p</sup> upon the receipt of the aforesaid Goods was to engadge it should be repaid in that time, which his Lo<sup>p</sup> did and gave a Bill under his owne hand and seale for y<sup>e</sup> repayment of 40,000 Rex-dollers by waite, which bill remains in Russia in his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Treasury (this Loane was not in redy money but delivered his Lo<sup>p</sup> in Corne



and ffurrs). At the same time his Mat<sup>ie</sup> held up a letter and desired his Lo<sup>p</sup> to come and receive it and beare it to the King; and if his Lo<sup>p</sup> had any further thing to say relating to the busines, he had left order with his Lords the Commissioners to dispatch it. So his Mat<sup>ie</sup> tooke leave of his Lo<sup>p</sup> and commanded a dinner to be agine sent home to his Lo<sup>p</sup>.

After this day his Lop never saw either Emperour or Lords Comrs. more; however he staid a moneth after in the Cittie. His Mat<sup>ie</sup> presented his Lo<sup>p</sup> with five Timber of Sables, which the Russ rated at 350 Robles, and I beeleeve were worth a 130 pounds sterling; to Dr. ffloyd and Mr. Tindall each of them a Timber of low prized sables valued at 50 Robles the Timber, but not really worth above 20 Robles; to his Lo<sup>ps</sup> 3 Gent a paire of Sables to each, about 3 or foure pound sterling a paire; to each of his ordinary servants a paire of Sables to the value of 30 shillings or thereabouts.

His Lo<sup>p</sup> had free post coming into the Country from Tweere to Mosco, which is upwards of 700 English miles, and might have had provision also, but his Lo<sup>p</sup> in respect of their course dyet provided for himselfe and followers.

His Lo<sup>ps</sup> allowance in Mosco during his stay was daily a Quarter of Beefe, and one sheepe, 4 henns, one side of bacon, a load of wood, and another of water, bread, beare, strong waters and mead sufficient for himselfe and Retinue, though none of the best.

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SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

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TO SIR E. HYDE.

8 June, N. S. [1650].

The King goes the day before, being Whitsunday, to Hamslerdike to take shipping for Scotland, tho' yet ignorant whether his large concessions are accepted.

The K. leaves behind him all his chaplains, the Lord Gerard, Lord Hopton; and, when I kissed his hand, he assured me that he would perform his promise to me of the place of Secretary, and that no man should lessen his good opinion of me.

Queen mother angry with the K. for his concessions to the Scots, and denies to Mrs. Boyle her advising him to consent.

“What think you of these Mysteries of State? Is it not time for me to retire?”

TO MR. PARKER [LORD HATTON].

8 June, N. S.

Tho' the Queen may disavow the knowledge of, or counselling of, what hath been here by his Majesty conceded unto you, yet all the world saith it hath been done wholly by her advice.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

June  $\frac{5}{15}$ .

I confess I cannot at all understand the counsels whereby his Majesty hath been governed in this Treaty [with the Scots]; but when I consider that here our Divines are become Statists and our Statists who govern become plain Atheists, I cannot wonder at the results of their counsels.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

$\frac{17}{27}$  June.

Col. FitzWilliams hath been employed by Lord Jermyn to his brother Den. Holles and brought a confidence (but no assurance) that the Presbyterians in England would upon His Majesty's landing in Scotland and a watch-word given bring into the field a puissant army; but he confesses not sufficient to do the deed without the conjunction with the King's Party, who are generally in England so unsatisfied and discontented at the concessions they hear his Majesty hath made with the Scots at his going to Scotland on such dishonorable and indeed ridiculous, or rather no, conditions and at his orders sent to recall Marq. of Montross's Commission (which all men speak of with great dislike, but I hope no such

passed the King's hand) as its believed very few or none of his Majesty's friends in England will assist the Presbyterians or Scots.

It was Lord Jermyn that told the Lord Hopton at Beauvais that those who obstructed the King's Counsels ought to be removed from his Counsels ; and upon that foot Lord Hopton and Secretary Nicholas were set aside at Breda after the first day's Debate on the Scots Propositions, which I assure you I take to be the greatest favour that ever the K. did me. The world now takes notice that the Counsels which destroyed the father have brought the son into the most unhappy condition.

Desires advice what to do with his two sons, who are fit for employment and whom he is able to keep no longer idle. His wife in England, but cannot get one penny out of his estate towards his or her children's maintenance. " I shall be within 6 months in an extreme necessity, having had only 160<sup>l</sup> of the King for above this twelvemonth."

TO SIR RICH. BROWNE.

From Utrecht, 5 July, N. S.

I have lately spoken with an intelligent person newly come out of England, who assures me that the King's late concessions to the Scots and putting himself into the hands and power of that nation upon no assurance of security for himself or party hath lost him the hearts of many honest men who were before passionately affected to his interest and person, insomuch as it is believed that, if the now ruling party in England will give way to the setting up of a moderate Episcopacy, that all the Nobility and Gentry in England will join to render that unhappy monarchy a commonwealth. And this proposition, having been proposed to some Leaders now in the Council of State, hath been received with no ill resentment but as a business which both St. John and Cromwell said was worthy a serious consideration in order to the putting of that commonwealth into peace within itself, the better to enable

it against Foreign Force, which they seemed to apprehend, but not from Scotland, now that incomparable Marq. of Montross is murdered.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

$\frac{2}{12}$  July.

I see conscience and religion accounted folly in Court and only atheism and impious and hypocritical factions pursued.

When I last kissed His Majesty's hand he assured me he would keep for me the place of Secretary ; and I have (tho' very few know it) so much under his hand, but he hath left no business to my care nor any means to enable me to live.

EARL OF CASSILIS<sup>a</sup> TO —

Extract of a letter from the Lord Cassillis, dated at Brughtoun, Wensday, the last of July, 1650, st. vet.

The commission of the kirke has advised the King to goe to Sterlin again. The respect they have to the security of his person is one reason ; but there are others that weigh also, as the confluence of Malignants and Engagers about him in the Army and the feare they have that the souldiers extraordinary respect to him may make them minde him and his interest more in their undertakings nor they shall doe Gods and his cause, and soe that the state of the question be really altered. These may be soone answered and indeed I am somewhat affraid that his retiring shall add little reputacion to him and as little courage to our souldiers.

<sup>a</sup> John Kennedy, 6th Earl of Cassilis, succ. in 1615 ; Commissioner from the Scotch Parliament and Kirk to the King at Breda in 1649 and 1650. Charles had landed in Scotland on 4 July, N.S.

But, if the desire be insisted on, I beleeeve he will satisfye them in it, and, if he doe (for ought I yet know) I will waite on him. Our army is about 10,000 foot and 7,000 horse, men enough (by Gods blessing) to doe the busines.

*In the hand of John Nicholas.*

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SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

TO MR. PARKER [LORD HATTON].

2 August, 1650, N. S.

Beginning of new Stirs here, whereof if there be not a sudden and dextrous composure, I believe these parts will soon be in as tumultuous and distracted a condition as their unhappy Neighbours; and if Amsterdam's faction prevail, that City will lord it over all the rest of these United Provinces. And then I doubt it will go hard with the Pr. of Orange, who is a gallant person; and, if he shall have ill success, it will be a great unhappiness for the King. And if the Pr. of Orange prevail, I hope it may break the great union that is begun between the faction in Amsterdam and the rebels in England.

My condition is so miserable at present, as I shall be forced to let my wife compound; for else she and our children will starve.

LORD HATTON.

Paris,  $\frac{2}{13}$  Aug., 1650.

SIR,

I have receaved yours of the 2<sup>d</sup> of August, st. no., and returne you many thanks for the happines of your correspondence. What newes wee have from England or Scotland I have sent you in these enclosed papers, to which I can adde nothing by this last post nor any other way, save that wee have a strong rumor of good newes from Ireland; but wee have beene so often



deceived that I will suspend troubling you with the particulars of itt until wee have it confirmed. It is very strange to me you should have no *letter from Spaine since Aprill*, although I can say as much within a month or six weekes, and for the tyme to come may be like to say more, for they exceedingly quarrell me for not writing weekly, whereas their returnes are not monthly, and, when their Packett comes, *my lord and I have such a pittyfull share of their affaires or the affaires of the place and the Louvre* constantly soe punctuall an account of all from top to bottome that, trust me, *we begin to be ashamed of our ignorance, when the world takes notice we receive letters from thence*, and for my part I shall never thinke itt decent to begge any other usage in that particular. Itt were a strange surmise to conceive you to be in Scotland, since to your eternall honour all the world must and doth take notice you were the chiefe opposer of that pernicious advise which ledd him to soe dishonorable and unconseionable an undertaking. Itt is, as I am credibly enformed, made a great argument in England that the King is satisfied the booke was not his Fathers that was sett forth under his name, because he followes noe part of the counsell given him in that booke. And a base rogue Mercurius Politicus hath printed that his Majesty, wanting abilities to pursue all the designes his Father aimed at or recommended to him, did therefore betake himselfe to this designe of putting himselfe in the Scotch hands and taking the covenant as that which might easiliest be performed, requiring nothing but the sacrifice of his honor and conscience. And doubtles there be but to many cavaliers in Cromwells army to oppose the Scotts. And I was told by one newly come over that this action of his Majesties taking the covenant hath had strange effects upon all his party in England, and the sweet Princess Elizabeth<sup>a</sup> hath wept dayly ever since, of whom I heare miraculous reports of her virtues and

<sup>a</sup> She died a month later, 8 Sept. 1650.

abilities, of her piety and adherance to all her Fathers principles. The Lord Taaffe<sup>a</sup> is heere and, though he owne the knowledge of the defeat of the Bishop of Cloghers<sup>b</sup> forces, yett he speakes very hopefully of Ireland, if the least countenance were cast upon itt, and is very confident that Leinster hath receaved a garrison of my lord of Ormonds putting in, and that the great defeate given to the Rebells in Ulster (whereof I told you wee had heere a rumour) is true. I feare the designe doth daily advance of *sending the Duke of Yorke into Scotland*. According to their custome they begin now to speake of itt as a fitting thinge and not to be avoided ether by the King in case the Scotts aske itt, nor by *Du. Yorke in case the King command it*. I am glad your stirres in Holland are accomodated, as our printed letters sent hither to the Duch Ambassador tell us. Wee were this weeke neere enough the brink of a mutiny, but that the French inconstancy reprived this place till another time. And it is to be feared your Amsterdam affaires are rather skinned than cured. Sir, as to your last commands of my opinion concerning my ladies compounding, truly I thinke, as the case stands with you, you are acquitt before God and man in letting my lady take all honest wayes for your subsistance. And I am confident the taking off your sequestration will not make you less serviceable, nor the bare lyeing of itt on will make none of us more honest. I conceive the manner is chiefly to be considered, and therein all cavills must cease, if itt be done by my lady and you keepe your person abroad; for thereby you shall have noe oathes nor engagements tendred to you nor be lyable to be often called to the generall trialls you would be put to were you present. In earnest, Sir, I should not att all stumble att itt, and perhaps your advantages

<sup>a</sup> Theobald Taaffe, succ. as 2nd Viscount Taaffe in 1643; cr. Earl of Carlingford in 1661.

<sup>b</sup> Heber MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher in 1643; made General of the Royal forces in Ulster by Ormonde in April, 1650, but defeated by Sir C. Coote on 20 June and the next day taken prisoner and hanged.

in that bussines would be more now then you would find them, if a Presbyterian or Scotch court card were trumpe. Sir, I have newly receaved a letter from *my wife, who desires me to get some friend to write me a letter dated from Beauvais about the fourth or fift of March*, wherein, taking notice of my resolution not to come thither upon any publick score or to desert my retirement and goe on with the King to Holland, that yett nevertheless upon a private and particular score of frendship and my owne interest and occasions I would come over thither to my frend, who could not come hither to me, that soe wee might ajust matters of recknings and accounts of moneyes betwixt us; and this *some which be her friends* assure *her* would advantage me, *if they could but whisper they had seene* anything to enduce them to beleeeve I went not upon a score of seeking publick employment but was sent for thither by a private frend about private matters of money. Now, sir, you know I was not there of 4 dayes after the King; he came thither on Munday the 3, I came not till Thursday the 7<sup>th</sup> of March. You know I came with profession against publick bussines or goeing any further, and indeed had scarce come att all but *to see my friends and settle the bussines of the Lady Saviles money*, whereof you had all that ever I touched. Itt were an infinite obligation if you would be pleased by the next post to afford me such a letter soe dated, which might recite my resolution not to come upon the enticement of publick imployments nor to leave my retirements to goe into Holland, yet nevertheless to importune me to come over, though stedly to my resolution as to shunne publick employment and persevere in my retirement, to the end wee might ballance private accounts of moneyes betwixt us, being a thing necessary in our owne particulars in these troublesome and needy tymes. And now you see my scope, I know you will word itt to my advantage better then I can desire. If heereby I could studdy a disservice to you, I would not to save my selfe propose itt; but since I thinke itt may be done without prejudice I take the boldnes to propose itt,

since att least itt will have the effect to satisfy the desires of her who presseth me to itt. I know you forgett not my unwillingnes to that jorney and that wee may safely enough say wee had bussines betwixt us of money matters concerning our owne particulars. If itt shall seeme reasonable to you, be pleased nothing may be in that letter but to this subject and date itt the 5<sup>th</sup> of March, st. no., presseing me to come on Munday the seaventh in regard the court having beene there since the third you may perhaps be gone ere I can come. Sir, I hartily wish I could be confident of your favor upon any merritt of my service, but what I want that way is supplied to me by the experience I have of your affection and respects to him whom you have many wayes obliged to be; Sir,

Your most faithfull servant,

C. P.

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EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO ———.

Extract of a letter from the Lord Lauderdail, dated  $\frac{1}{2}$  of August, 1650.

Our governours both of Church and State were unsatisfyed with the confluence of so many gentlemen (for by consequence most part were Engagers, and they are by some of the most powerfull and most zealous esteemed the worst kind of malignants). And therefore the army behoved to be purged, and that the purge might be the more powerfull the king must needs leave the army. He was most unwilling; but it was plainly told him, if his Matie did not leave the army, the Committee would not act nor the ministers pray for the army. Soe away he went to Dunfermelin sore against his will. Then a proclamacion was made, that all that had any accession to the late unlawfull engagement should bee gon, else their horses should bee taken from them; but the penalty needed not,



for, the King been gon, they were willing to obey the Committee and goe home. Soe the purge wrought very well; for about 3000 horse were purged, as they say that seeme to know well. Had it been thought lawfull to have suffred the King and all gentlemen (even excepting those excepted by name and the 2 first classis) to have stayed, the Isle of Brittain saw not such an army these hundred yeares. But that was not suffred; and, for all the purge, there are yet men enough, if it please God to blesse them. For, beleeve it, they have above 6000 well mounted and right well armed horse, and above 12000 foote. I speake within the compasse of the foote, but I assure you they are above the number I write, horse and foote. Cromwell being weary of such hard duty as he was forced to, lying soe neer our army, retreated in the night in great hast to Dunbar. At first we thought he was gon quite away, but now we find it was but to refresh his men.

*In the hand of John Nicholas.*

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SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO LORD GERARD.

27 August, O.S., 1650.

It is not unlikely but that, if the King's party in England shall once see that Nation [Scotland] really and heartily engaged for His Majesty, which a little time will now discover, the Royalists will then be ready to rise for his Majesty's further assistance.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

$\frac{3}{13}$  Sept.

M. of Argyle (who underhand doubtless doth set on the Ministers to make these mad and unconscionable demands) hath pressed the K. to give security, that the Scots shall have satisfaction in case they shall beat Cromwell. And I believe that one part of that security will be, that they may have the D. of York in their power;



which if they shall compass (as I hear and apprehend some powerful ones of the Louvre have great inclinations to effect), then they may be sure to have a good prize from the rebels of England for the K. and his Brother together, and then there will be an end, if not of monarchy in England, yet I doubt of that Family.

You now by this see the effects of the counsel of your wise friends at the Louvre, and of the Presbyterian faction about the King, which, I may tell you, were too much countenanced by some of our complying Divines that were with the King at Breda.

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LORD HATTON.

1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> Sept., 1650.

SIR,

I have received none from you by this last post, which makes me doubt mine have not come safe to your hands, though I have not missed any post to write to you since I left my old lodging, and all yours until now have come safe unto mee; yett observing strictly the directions you gave me for my address I shall continue untill I find my error. *The D. of Yorke is still in Paris, but I heare it is resolved<sup>a</sup> by his cabinet councell, Lord Gerard, Dr. Stuart, Mr. Elliot,<sup>b</sup> and Dr. Killigrue,<sup>c</sup> that the Duke of Yorke shall goe speedily to Brussells and send for thither to him Sec. Nicholas, Mr. Attorney and Sir Geo. Ratcliffe (I suppose Lord Hopton to, though he was not named to me) and by the councell you shall give him will governe himselfe. The Prince of Orenge did write*

<sup>a</sup> "763"; the text has "767," deciphered "reformed."

<sup>b</sup> Thomas Eliot, Groom of the Bedchamber to the King—"whom the king's father had sent into France at the same time that he resolved that the Prince should go for the West, and for no other reason but that he should not attend upon his son . . . with whom he thought he had too much credit and would use it ill" (Clarendon, p. 720).

<sup>c</sup> Henry Killigrew, of Christ Church, Oxford, D.D. in 1642, youngest son of Sir Robert Killigrew; chaplain to the Duke of York.

some letters unto the Queene of England concerning the D. of Yorke, which have much offended the D. of Yorke and is the cause why the Duke of Yorke resolves he will consult you at Brussells, as not thinking his person safe in Holland by reason the Prince of Orenge did say in his letters that, if the Duke of Yorke came to Holland, the Prince of Orenge must by engagement and would send the Duke of Yorke into Scotland. Thoughe it yet appeares not, it is thought the Queene will endeavour to stay the Duke of Yorke with her till she<sup>a</sup> sees what will become of the King in Scotland; yet I am assured the Duke of Yorke is resolved for his voyage next weeke, and questionles, if the Queene offer to stay him, it is out of pollicy not affection, for she omits noe opportunity to expres her undervallue of him, where she thinkes she may doe it secretly. But she is deceived in some of her female confidents; for she lately told a lady that the Duke of Yorke had sayed that the Queene in his and the opinion of all the world loved and valued Lord Jermyn more then she did all her children. The lady desired her Majestie not to give eare unto such tales; the Queene of England replied it was true, and that he to whome the Duke of Yorke had spoke these wordes had told them to the Queene and that was the King, who she sayed was of better nature then the Duke of Yorke, with much more of great bitternes. All which being reported againe to the Duke of Yorke as it was, I leave it to you to consider what impressions these things may (sic) in each of them. Wee have this day receaved the newes from England of the victory of the English over the Scotch,<sup>b</sup> of whom they have killed some thousands, taken many thousands more, 32 peece of cannon, 200 ensignes, 12000 armes; and were still in pursute. The Kings person was then escaped, being gone further up into the countrey. What the success willbe, God knowes; but wee see as yett but ill

<sup>a</sup> "352"; in the text "354," deciphered "saye."

<sup>b</sup> In the battle of Dunbar, 3 Sept.

symptomes that a kingdome can be securely bought at the rate of conscience and honour. *How this newes may make the Queene of England presse the Duke of Yorke to stay, as yet I know not ; but the Duke of Yorke seemes soe resolute to goe that Mr. Elliot goes hence to-morrow, which otherwise I suppose he would not. My greatest feare is least the Queene of England should discover the resolute treason to st[ay] time at Brussells ; and, to deale freely with Sec. Nicholas, I much feare the heyfer the Queene plowes with is Dr. Stuart, and I have very much ground to suspect itt, knowing to well the great vanity (to give it the gentlest name), that is in that little great bishop of Winchester, which I heare he would willingly have nottice taken of, and place given him accordingly, since, as he hath lately told some heere, the warrant for it hath passed Sec. Nicholas' hand. But all this I speake unto the rose, and I beseech you take not the least nottice of itt, though I have itt from infallible hands. I call to mind how long a letter I writt you by the last post and how constant I purpose to be in writing, and therefore I must not overtire you with my particular private bussinesses, having nothing of publick consideration to advertise you but what I beleieve the prints will have told you more exactly ere this kiss your hands, which happines is envied to itt by, Sir,*

Your most faithfull servant for ever,

S. SMITH.

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SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

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TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

17 Sept. [1650].

I very much pity poor M<sup>r</sup> Chancellor (whom I believe to have very honest and good principles), for I believe he is in great necessity. I do not at all doubt, but he hath sufficiently repented

his so unskilful leaving the King ; and I hope he doth not think the better of himself for his so much complying with your Friends at the Louvre, which doubtless made the King think the better of their counsels, which have ruined him.

TO THE SAME.

24 Sept., N. S.

Believes that there is great care, "and I fear," says he, "some design to keep the D. of York from hence [Holland] and that the Pr. of Orange is by the Queen (whom he adores for her prudence and policy) made instrumental in it.

I hope, now the D. of York is at the Louvre, that the Queen will permit him there the exercise of his Devotion.

The Party in these parts increases every day in faction against the Prince of Orange, who, it is said, is intirely governed by the Queen of England in all business relating to England.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

9 November, N. S.

The Pr. of Orange after a week's sickness died Sunday Night last<sup>a</sup> of the Small Pox thro' the supine negligence or worse of some of his Physicians.

The D. of York's chief council and confidants at Brussels are Dr Killegrew, Mr Howard, Mr Tho: Elliot, Sir George Radcliffe, and Dr Stuart. Mr Attorney is also there, but joins not with those Counsellors.

The People in England are universally discontented with the daily new Taxes imposed on them, and the oppression there is so great and general as on the least visible force for the King all that Kingdom would rise as one man against the new Republic there, which I believe will be much exalted in their pride and confidence upon the death of this gallant Prince here.

<sup>a</sup> 6 Nov. His son, afterwards King William III. was born 14 Nov. following.

TO MR. HENRY SEYMOUR.

1<sup>st</sup>/<sub>10</sub> November.

The Death of the Pr. of Orange, who died on Sunday was se'nnight, was an irreparable loss as well to His Majesty as to these Parts. I could not after your Brother [John] came over speak with his Highness before he died, but his death hath disappointed all the Business in the West.

TO LORD GERARD.

From the Hague, 1<sup>st</sup>/<sub>3</sub> November.

I have the Commission for your Lordship's being Gen<sup>l</sup> of Kent, etc., but no other that concerns yourself, but some for the West ; but it must not by any means be known that any at all have been sent, because the King in his late Declaration promised the Scots to grant none.

LORD HATTON.

Paris, 19<sup>th</sup> Nov., 1650.

SIR,

(26)

I am glad I sympathised with you in your sicknes, and that you accompany me in your recovery ; and truly I must attribute much to Dr Winston<sup>a</sup> in point of frendly and affectionate care as well as skill and art. And although he be now gone to Rouen, yet I have dayly letters from him and shall not faile in my next to him to let him know you remember him, which I know will much cheere him up, for in earnest he did often express more then an ordinary affection to your person. The death of the Prince of Orenge, as it relates to the King of England, to the King of France, to the King of Spaine, and to the Low Contries, may have greater effects and consequences then can suddenly be compre-

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Winston, M.D. of Cambridge in 1608 ; F.R.C.P. and Prof. of Physic at Gresham College in 1615. He retired to France in 1642, but came back in 1652 and had his estate restored (Whitelock, p. 538).



hended. I beseech God to comfort the sweet Princess Royall and send her a sonne timely borne. *It is resolved at the Louvre Lord Jermyn shall goe to Holland to condole.* The Queene heere hath expressed very much passion upon the newes of her sonne-in-lawes death, very much more then at the late death of her daughter. It is by some heere sayed that *what banke she or Jermyn have in Holland* was chiefly knowne unto and managed in the name of *the Prince of Orenge*, which increaseth the *Queenes* sorrow and causeth *Jermyns voyage for Holland.* Whether it be soe or not I know not; but I verrily beleieve their willbe an attempt soe to manage *the Princess Royalls estate* to the advantage of the Louvre. I am hartily sorry that *the Louvre* have so much cause to blame the *D. of Yorkes Councillors*; but I wonder you leave *D<sup>r</sup> Stuart* out of the list of them, who is heere taken to be of the Quorum. There is a very strong opinion att the Louvre that the Duke of Yorke will returne thither, and as strong a resolution to cashieere all his now councillors. Wee heare Sir George Ratcliffe is called Controller to the Duke. I pray doe you heare or beleieve anything of his returne this way. I am very much pleased att *Sec. Nicholas's* resolution not to quitt *the Kings affaires.* I would to God the King and his blessed Father had valued and imployed none but those that preferred their service before their owne private fortunes and estates. And I am very glad *the King* hath done soe prudently as to committ his affaires of greatest importance into such sure hands. Wee heare in these parts by a letter from Sir Edw. Walker<sup>a</sup> to the Queene that the King, intending to make an escape from the Scotts, as well those of Middletons<sup>b</sup> party as those

<sup>a</sup> Clerk of the Council and Garter King of Arms. He accompanied Charles to Scotland as Receiver-General (Balfour, iv. p. 83), but was among the number of his attendants who were ordered to quit the kingdom as having formerly "served in arms against the cause" (see his own "Journal of Affairs in Scotland, 1650," *Hist. Discourses*, p. 161).

<sup>b</sup> Gen. John Middleton, cr. Earl of Middleton in 1660.

of Argile, did only impart his intentions to the Duke of Buckingham with charge of secrecy, who nevertheless did impart it to the Lord Willmot and they both acquainted the Scots with itt, who thereupon pursued, overtooke him and brought him back: that all parties are agreed in Scotland and hostages given betwixt Argile and Middleton: that the King was to be crowned the 9<sup>th</sup> of Nov.: that Mr Long was in the plot and designe of the Kings escape from the Scotts, for which he will find loade layed on him when he comes hither: that Middleton, &c., are 10000 strong: that all the Kings party may come freely in unto him: that Sir Ed. Walker repents him of his coming away: and, how ever some few circumstances may be forgott, yet there is nothing more of moment or secrecy in his letter, which is shewed in the Louvre. For my owne part, I confess *I can not much value any relation observation or apprehension that comes from Sir Ed. Walker*, and can less hope for any good *from Scotland*. I pray God protect in safety and security his Majesties person, for I doe very much apprehend *his lief to be in danger*. Beleeve me, Sir, it is much against my will to give over and were my strength answerable to my mind I should not soe soone give you ease and shorten this delight I have to converse with you, which is a very great favour that you allow, Sir,

Your most faithfull and affectionate servant,

SIMON SMITH.

There is that French ship called *La Lune*, which was part of Prince Ruperts fleete, newly come in to Rochell and the Captain hath writt word to Choqueuse Prince Ruperts Chirurgion heere, that he left the Prince well at sea and that he willbe in person in this towne within a day or two and give him more particulars of, and some commands from, Prince Rupert. The London letters are not yet come soe as wee can give you noe English newes.

## LORD HATTON.

[Paris, 19 Nov. 1650]<sup>a</sup>

SIR,

By the Earle of Norwich direction this inclosed letter is to come in your packet. I beseech you present my humble service to that noble lord, whose servant I have been tyme out of my memory ; for I remember my Father was his humble servant, when I was very yong. It hath beene sayed at the Louvre his Lordship came over upon the Parliament negotiations, but I wish they had or would yet hazard as much for the Kings service as he hath or would doe. I had almost forgott to tell you a passage happned yesterday heere in my chamber. *Sir Henry Wood came to vissitt me* (I presume upon some designe, though not yet apparent to me) ; the introduction to the discourse was to aske what newes I heard from Holland or out of Scotland or from Bruxells. I answered none, having noe correspondent in ether of the places ; I had only now and then a letter from a kinsman in Antwerp, which only writt me heeresayes. To omitt the rest, I was asked if he writ me any thing concerning the Duke of Yorke. I told him, not soe much as where he was ; he thereupon told me he was yet att Bruxells, but would certainly be enforced to returne hither for meere want, and that he did beleieve *the Duke of Yorke was himself abused by Thomas Elliot*, who had settled his resolutions heere soe violent upon his jorneyes upon assurance of supplies and layed the foundation upon *the mony which Prince Rupert sent to the King by Thos. Elliot*, whereas, *sayde Sir Henry*, *that mony was disposed of by His Majesty just before his going to Scotland and the Lord Jermyn hath a list to whome*. Foure of them he sayed he remembered, the rest he said he had forgott, and three of his foure I remember and the fourth I have forgott. ' *The three were Lord Hopton, Sec.*

<sup>a</sup> The letter is written on the back of the same sheet as the letter preceding.

*Nicholas, Thomas Elliot, who had each of them five hundred pounds, persons which the Louvre thinks did ill deserve it, as being against the Kings journey, which proves soe successful; for now there is noe other discourse there but applauding the councells that sent them into Scotland. All that pleased me in the discourse was Sec. Nicholas shared in the mony; if it be true, I only wish it had bene more.*

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SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

\*

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

30 Novemb. [1650].

Argyle will sooner trust Cromwell (who I believe is not much more guilty of the death of the late K. of blessed memory than his Ld<sup>p</sup>) than the K. our Master, who keeps still in his bosom, and as his chief counsellor, the D. [of] Hamilton, the D. [of] Argyle's irreconcilable Enemy; for Argyle knows, and Sir Edw. Walker (who is body and soul D. Hamilton's) saith, that that Duke was a prime Counsellor and Adviser of the design for the K.'s escape.<sup>a</sup>

I may tell you, Sir Edw. Walker deserves no thanks from the K. for the imprudent and indiscreet relation he hath made of the King's attempt and failing to proceed to get out of Argyles and the Kirkmen's power.

The great Governors here in the Princess Royal's family and business are the Lady Stanhope<sup>b</sup> and her Husband; and the great men with them are Lord Percy and Dan. O'Neile.

<sup>a</sup> The so-called "Start," by which Charles hoped to shake off the yoke of the Committee of Estates by joining his friends in the North. He secretly left St. Johnstone on 4th Oct., but was brought back to Perth on the 6th (Walker, *Hist. Discourses*, p. 197).

<sup>b</sup> Katherine, dau. of Thomas, Lord Wotton, and widow of Henry, Lord Stanhope, eldest son of the Earl of Chesterfield. Her present husband was John Poliander van Kirckhoven, Heer van Heenvliet, after whose death she married Col. Daniel O'Neile (mentioned below), Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles I. and II. She was governess to the young Princess of Orange.



There are as great factions here in these little Courts as in that of the D. of York. Happiest are they who have the least to do with them.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

7 Decemb. N.S.

It is very manifest that your Friends at the Louvre have employed all their Power and Artifices, both here and in Scotland, to force the D. of York to return into France, that they may there have the new modelling of him and teach him to bow to the Baal of the Louvre, which is the Idol that hath ruined our Israel. And I hear they have procured Letters from Scotland for the D. of York's return to Paris, which I hear will be much pressed when L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn comes hither. In the mean time they conceal those Letters as much as they can.

I humbly thank you for your Advertisement concerning the Cardinal's notable artifice and juggling in his Conference with Morrel. I intend, if you think fit, to send an Extract of it to the K., without saying from whom I had it, that His Majesty may see how that cursed Cardinal (who wholly governs all the Louvre Counsels) values him. I assure you, I believe France will make a League with the Devils in England as soon as Spain, and observe it more strictly to His Majesty's prejudice.

In this good Princess Royal's House Mons<sup>r</sup> Henfleet and his Lady governs all, and Lord Percy and Dan. O'Neile govern them by an influence from the Louvre; and they do their best to set this good Princess at variance with her Mother in Law,<sup>a</sup> who will be too hard for them all, by the great interest she hath with these States.

TO MARCHIONESS OF ORMOND.

Decemb. 7, N.S.

I have very good intelligence that the E. of Bristol is now by

<sup>a</sup> Emilia, dau. of John Albert, Count of Solms-Braunsfeld, and widow of Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange.



his friends labouring in England to make his peace and Composition. But this is told me as a great secret, which I pray keep to yourself. I pray advise Lord Marq. Ormond, and consider yourself in time your condition. I say no more, nor would not say so much to any other than to Lady Ormond herself.

My old servant Mr. Oudart is arrived, and some others from Scotland. The K. is in a very sad condition there, the Kirkmen and their faction adhering still very rigidly to their mad principles; and, if there be not a speedy conjunction of all their forces, they undoubtedly will be all ruined.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

Decemb. 7, N.S.

My wife can get nothing since she went to England, more than what I told you at St. Germain; and all friends there being weary of her, as fearing to be ill used for her company, insomuch as she had come over to me at Michaelmas, but that she could not get a Pass unless she would sign the Engagement. And she and all my friends there press me by all means to compound, which they say I may do, tho' at a dear rate. Nay, I hear, (but that is under the Rose) that the E. of Bristol hath an Agent now compounding for him. As soon as I shall have performed what His Majesty by his Letter in September last commanded and shall know his pleasure, which I expect every day by honest Mr. H. Seymour, I intend to retire, unless I receive some particular commands from his Majesty, and about the Spring to go live at Wesel or thereabouts, where provisions are cheaper.

Sir H. Hyde<sup>a</sup> made a property in his employment [of Embassador at Constantinople] by Lord Jermyn and S<sup>r</sup> John Berkeley to

<sup>a</sup> Sir Henry Hyde, 5th son of Sir Laurence Hyde, of West Hatch, co. Wilts; beheaded on 5 Mar. 1651 "for sundry treasons and crimes . . . against the Commonwealth" (Whitelock, p. 489). In his instructions, 19 Sept. 1649, he is described as "Consul for Greece and the islands thereof" (B. M., Egert. MS. 2542, f. 9).

sound the Ford, that others might the better know whether they might securely pass; for I hear for certain, that Sir John hath a Patent from the K. to be Ambassador in Constantinople.

There is now no possibility to make any of the King's Party to rise in England untill they shall see a Body of Foreigners landed to secure their gathering together, which, now the Prince of Orange is dead, will not be suddenly gotten.

Those at the Louvre have so many little designs, not only in the King's Court but here in this place and with the D. of York, and have so many factious agents in all these places, as they have distracted all business by making great divisions, so as no honest man will willingly, or can with reputation, deal in His Majesty's affairs. And truly I am so weary as I am meditating how I may fairly retire and leave all.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

4<sup>th</sup> Decemb.

Mr. Edw. Proger<sup>a</sup> and Dr. Froisard came thither [to the Hague], being both banished out of Scotland. They put to sea before Oudart and bring no more than he and Sir Edward Walker before him brought. And I am sorry to hear what all of them say concerning the D. of Buckingham's intireness with the Marq. Argyle and that faction being wholly governed by one Col. Leighton,<sup>b</sup> a great confident of Lord Biron's and Lord Wilmot's, and who now executes the place of Secretary for English Affairs; at which Mr.

<sup>a</sup> Groom of the Bedchamber; ordered to quit the kingdom like Dr. Fraser and Nich. Oudart by the Committee of Estates on 27 Sept.

<sup>b</sup> Col. Elisha, or Ellis, Leighton, son of Alexander Leighton, M.D., and younger brother of Robert Leighton, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow. He became a Roman Catholic in 1652 (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 162), and was knighted at Brussels in Apr. 1659, being then "servant [secretary] to the Duke of York" (B. M., Add. MS. 32102, f. 84b). North, *Examen*, 1740, p. 480, and Burnet, *Hist. of his Own Time*, 1724, i. p. 136, give a most unfavourable character of him. After the Restoration he was Secretary to the Prize Court, and Pepys, who mentions him several times, speaks of him, at second hand, as having been "a mad freaking

Long and Oudart are much offended both with him and the D. of Buckingham.

The Lord Jermyn is now expected here every day to settle all affairs that concern this noble Princess Royal, who indeed is a very virtuous and good Princess but wholly governed by the Queen, and I fear will by her counsels be rendered as unfortunate as others have been.

The Louvre counsels have been ever fatal to the Crown of England, whereof I can give too many instances.

Mr. Lane hath here composed an Answer<sup>a</sup> to Milton's scandalous Book which is written against the late King's most incomparable Book.

I hear by some that have good correspondencies in England that there are there notable Factions amongst the Grandees there against Cromwell and his Party, so as it is believed we shall before it be long hear of some remarkable change in England.

Without order from the Louvre I hear there will be no supply sent from hence to the D. of York, who is still at Brussels.<sup>b</sup>

TO SIR GEORGE CARTERET.

<sup>14</sup>/<sub>14</sub> Decemb. 1650.

D. of York [is] in great necessity at Brussels. The Louvre design is to constrain him to return to Paris, which, it is said, the young Prince will not easily be persuaded into.

Mr. Long was at Aberdeen expecting a passage for these parts when Mr. Proger came thence; and there are none of the King's servants now left to attend on his person in Scotland except the D.

fellow" (ed. Bright, iii. p. 109). His father (see below, p. 212) was the victim of an inhuman sentence in the Star Chamber in 1630, and was imprisoned for life in the Fleet. He was, however, released by order of Parliament in June, 1641, and was subsequently made keeper of the prison at Lambeth House.

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 137, note.

<sup>b</sup> He was left at Paris with the Queen when Charles went to Scotland, but against her wishes had gone to Brussels to visit the Duke of Lorraine (Clarendon, p. 755).

of Buck., the L<sup>d</sup> Wilmot, Mr. Harding, Mr. Smith, Mr. Rodes, and Mr. Pooley.<sup>a</sup>

The Scots have by importunity prevailed with the K. to take Col. Graves, Capt. Titus, and a Scotsman<sup>b</sup> to wait on His Majesty as Grooms of his Bedchamber. Col. Leighton, a perfect Presbyterian, who was a great confidant of the L<sup>d</sup> Biron and L<sup>d</sup> Hopton, doth execute the place of Secretary for English Affairs, and the King hath caused Mr. Long to deliver this Leighton (as I hear) the Signet.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

11 Decemb.

There hath been some good while a great jealousy that Mr. W<sup>m</sup>. Coventry was become a Presbyterian . . . . I believe the Lady Isabella<sup>c</sup> (who is one of Dr. Morley's<sup>d</sup> Elect Ladies) hath converted [him] and that his being of the Presbyterian Faction hath rendered him so acceptable at the Louvre. He hath very good parts and hath had very good intelligence from England from some of his friends, who (I believe) will be sorry to hear where he is and that he professeth himself (as you write) a Presbyterian.

The Duke of York came last week from Brussels with only four servants with intention to have seen his sister here, and being on his way sent a servant to acquaint Her Highness with his coming. Whereupon the Marq. of Vieuville was sent to him, and meeting His Highness at Dort, within a day's journey of this place, told the D. of York from the Princess Royal that his coming to the Hague at this time would be very inconvenient to her and much prejudice her business. Whereupon the good Duke went to Rening, a house of the Qu. of Bohemia's, where he now is ; which unkindness these

<sup>a</sup> See a "List of his Majesties Servants" in Balfour, iv. p. 83.

<sup>b</sup> Col. Gilbert Carr, or "one Mr. Campbell" (Walker, p. 177).

<sup>c</sup> Lady Isabella Thynne, dau. of Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, and wife of Sir James Thynne.

<sup>d</sup> George Morley, Canon of Christ Church, 1641 ; made Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Worcester in 1660, and Bishop of Winchester in 1662.

Boores do wonder at. And truly I am very sorry to hear it so severely censured by all sorts of people. But the good Princess doth but as she hath been advised from the Louvre, which is the fountain of all the Factions here, and to the whole family.

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## CHARLES II.

C. R. Instruccions for our trusty and welbeloved servaunt H. Seymour, esq., concerning our deere brother, the D. of Yorke.

1. You are to repaire to our deere Brother the D. of Yorke at Bruxells or wheresoever he is with all convenient speede.

2. Wee being very much troubled with his suddaine and hasty departure from y<sup>e</sup> Queene, you are to endeavour to perswade his returne to her, as y<sup>e</sup> only way and meanes which can satisfy us and y<sup>e</sup> world, and indeed y<sup>e</sup> place where we thinke he may be with most honour and safety for himself and with best conveniency for our affaires, both in relacion to England and to any other motions which may be made of advantage for our service and putting him into action, which we very much desire.

3. We conceive the Lords and other of our Councell, with my lord Byron, wilbe necessary to be neere and about him, to advise upon all occasions. And wee desire therefore they may be invited to attend him, especially my lo. of Ormond, to whome wee have alreddy written to that purpose, if he be in France, as y<sup>e</sup> person in whose fidellity, wisdom, and experience wee have very great confidence; and wee doe therefore desire our deere Brother to be very kinde to him.

4. Wee hold it very necessary that he doe lessen his family as much as he can possibly, that his charge may be y<sup>e</sup> lesse and he y<sup>e</sup> lesse burthensome in these necessitous tymes. The choice of his servaunts wee leave to himself, being most confident that, if there



shalbe any disaffected to our service, we shall not neede to desire him to heare y<sup>e</sup> advice of Councell in this particular.

5. It being not our intencion our said Deere Brother should alwayes dwell and fixe himself in France, we desire, and you are to require and commaund Mr Secretarie Long from us, to advertize us with all convenient speede, thoughe by an expresse, of all y<sup>e</sup> passages and overtures which have bene made from y<sup>e</sup> Queen of Sweden concerning our owne or our Brothers repaire thither, and of any other expedients and proposicions which have bene made us, that wee may y<sup>e</sup> better advise what is fitt to be donne in order to y<sup>e</sup> disposing and imploying our Brother.

6. You shall acquaint our Brother how sensible wee are of his condition, and that, thoughe wee have it not in our power to give a present remedy to it, yet we intend to put him into action as soone as our affaires in this kingdome shall permit and a fitt opportunity be offred; and that wee have long since taken that into consideration and provided y<sup>e</sup> meanes to enable him for it. Therefore, as soone as wee shall have notice from our freinds and such as are fitt to be credditted in a busines of such consequence that there is such a body in Armes for us in England as is fitt for him to engage himself with, he shall then finde how reddey we are to comply with his desire.

7. In case y<sup>e</sup> monnys appointed for our said Deere Brother assigned upon my Lo: Culpaper shall not answeare expectacion, then you are to desire and comand Mr Secretarie Long from us to use all possible meanes and take such wayes as may supply him out of such monnyes of ours as he alreddy knowes or shall hereafter come to his knowledge and be within his power for his present occasions and the performauce of such other direccions as we have now or shall hereafter give him.

Dated at Perth the 20<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>br</sup> 1650. In the second yeare of our Raigne.

*Copy.*

*In the hand of Sir E. Nicholas.*

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## CHARLES II.

C. R. Instruccions for our trusty and welbeloved Hen. Seymoure, Esq<sup>r</sup>., concerning our deere brother the Duke of Yorke.

1. If you finde our deere brother att the Hague, you shall entreat our sister the Princesse Royall to use her best endeavours to perswade his returne into Fraunce, as a thing which wee much desire and wilbe most acceptable to us. And it [is] our pleasure that you shew her your Instruccions, not only concerning this but in all we have intrusted unto you.

2. Wee have such a confidence in the affeccion and kindnes of our Brother the D. of Yorke as wee cannot doubt of his reddines to satisfy us in all necessary and indifferent things, especially if wee discover our earnest desire and y<sup>e</sup> fitnes of it (as we have donne and doe for his returne into ffrance). And wee shall therefore beleeve (in case he refuse us this) that there are some who, disaffected to our service, do dissuade and misleade him in this. If you discover any such, you are to warne them from us of it and assure them wee shall understand it as a cryme and remember to punishe it when we have y<sup>e</sup> meanes to let them see how great a disservice and contempt it is to us.

3. Because wee doe not know how y<sup>e</sup> assignements upon my Lo. Culpaper, our direccions to Mr. Long, and our other endeavour for monny, will aunsweare our expectacion and our Brothers necessities, either in y<sup>e</sup> tyme or proporecion, we are content and doe give leave and free liberty to him to make use of ours, or his owne credditt, where ever it wilbe accepted, for his better supply. And, if this Instruccion be not a sufficient warrant for this, wee will, upon intimacion of it and direccions of the way and meanes, enlarge ourself further and declare our pleasure soe as he may be enabled to doe anything for y<sup>e</sup> supply of his occasions.

4. Our desire is that he would governe himself by the advise and direccions of the Queene our Mother, especially in all motions of importaunce and when either the exigencies of tyme or other reasons (which wee cannot forsee) will not permitt an immediatt addresse to ourself.

Wee doe conceave Mr. Longs residence att y<sup>e</sup> Hague wilbe alwaies necessary for our affaires ; and wee therefore intend to make use of his service there. And because we know S<sup>r</sup> Edward Nicholas wilbe well trusted by our freinds in England and is very acceptable to y<sup>e</sup> Marquis of Ormond, wee desire he should be particularly invited and encouraged by the Queene and our Brother to be alwayes neere and about him.

Dated at Perth the [20] day of December, 1650. In the second yeare of our Raigne.

*In the hand of Sir E. Nicholas.*

*Copy.*

\*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON]. 4 January, 1650[1], N.S.

Col. Leighton doth under the E of Lothian (as Mr. Long says) execute the place of Secretary of State for English Affairs. He is the son of that Leighton who stood in the Pillory and was Jaylor at Lambeth. But this man was not other than a soldier when the Presbyterians were rulers.

There is here great preparation for the Assembly of the States from all the Provinces, it being the greatest Assembly that hath been known since the first settling of this State. And it is believed there will be here now some important alterations made in point of Government before they depart. I doubt they will not do what they ought for this infant Prince, whose ancestors have so highly merited of this State. And I am told that they more dislike y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jermyn's being sent hither to order all affairs concerning the Princess Royal than they would have done the Duke of York's

coming to see his sister, for the most knowing men in this State look on Lord Jermyn and the counsels of the Louvre as that which hath contributed very much to the miseries of the K. and kingdom of England. And that was I hear the reason why intimation was sent to the Queen that she would not be welcome hither, if she should come to the Princess Royal's lying in.

Your Cousin Fanshaw<sup>a</sup> is preparing to go for Scotland, being sent by the D. of York for settling a clear understanding between the D. of York and the King.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

17 January.

I concur entirely with you that the D. of York's servants had need to be purged, and I have heard of some jealousies that some honest men have had of S<sup>r</sup> Geo. Radcliffe; how justly, I cannot tell. But what you write renders it very apparent that those at the Louvre have at least good hopes to gain Sir Geo. Radcliffe; and I have been told that Lord Jermyn intends to make some propositions to some near the Duke of York, which may be the same you intimate. I am told that L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn, L<sup>d</sup> Percy and Mr. Long have had here several Meetings and Consultations about His Majesties Affairs; and two days since I was desired by the Resident here to meet L<sup>d</sup> Calpepper at his house about some business importing His Majesty's Service. And when I came thither, the Resident told me the meeting was to be at L<sup>d</sup> Percy's chamber; whereupon I returned home to my lodging, telling the Resident that I would at any time meet with him and let him know my poor opinion in any business concerning His Majesty's

<sup>a</sup> Richard Fanshawe, son of Sir Henry Fanshawe, of Ware Park, co. Herts.; afterwards a Bart. He had been secretary to Charles II. when Prince of Wales in 1645, and was again appointed secretary to the King in Scotland, 2 Apr. 1651 (B.M. Egert. MS. 2542, f. 72). He accompanied Charles into England, and was taken prisoner at Worcester. Hatton's mother was Alice Fanshawe, half sister to Sir Henry.

affairs, because he is a public Minister, but I ought not to consult with any persons concerning His Majesty's affairs who were not of His Majesty's Council. How this will be taken or interpreted, I know not; but I am sure it is agreeable to my Duty. Duke of York [is] sent for to the Hague by the Pr. Royal, and expected there to morrow.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

$\frac{8}{18}$  January.

Lord Jermyn conceals from the Queen his Journey to Renen to visit the D. of York, where he staid one night. D. of York came to the Hague on Thursday last, and [was] used by his sister with the greatest kindness.

Young Pr. of Orange [was] baptis'd on Sunday last, and named William Henry.

Lord Culpepper dissuades the D. of York from going to church with the young Prince, which disappointed and disordered some Ladies.

I perceive the K. hath been very much misinformed and incensed against the D. of York, and those who counselled him at Paris; so as I believe His Highness will think fit to return into France, tho' perhaps not suddenly.

TO THE SAME.

$\frac{15}{28}$  January.

The K.'s giving so much credit to the Louvre informations makes honest men unwilling to meddle with any of His Majesty's affairs.

I hear and know that your friends at the Louvre will very much court Marq. Ormonde and endeavour by all means to get him into their counsels and join with them the better to countenance their party; and I may tell you (which I pray you keep to yourself) as, contemptible as I am among your friends at the Louvre, I am by the K. designed to be invited by the Queen into France. But I



hope Her Majesty will spare me therein, I having not so much as once made a visit to the Lord Jermyn in all the time his Greatness was here. Besides I have, I assure you, as great an averseness to Presbytery and the ways and counsels of the Louvre as they deserve.

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

SIR,

Caen, 9 Jan., 1651.<sup>a</sup>

I am soe newly gotten hether that, more then what I brought with mee, I have but a confused notion of the state of things, and as to that which relates to the parte I have soe unsuccessefully acted, it will require some litle time to put the relation I propose to send you into a method for the more cleere and easy understanding of it. When I shall have thus digested the naration, I shall hope it will appeare to you, and by your meanes to others, that I have not only dilligently contended against the power of the rebells but against a violent propensity in the people of Ireland to precipitate their owne destruction, whereof that they may not appeare guililty and worthily derideable to the world, their cleargy have endeavoured to aspers mee with an impudence suteable to their custom, but soe diserneable to men of cleerer observation then their misguided flocks that I beleeve they will appeare the most sencelessly malicious and the most rediculously hecterous persons that ever any man of my condition had to doe with in any time or place. I shall noe further anticipate your judgement of their cariage, but haveing given most reall thanks for the continuance of your favour and friendship to mee and my family remaine

Your most affectionate humble servant,

ORMONDE.

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<sup>a</sup> For the answer to this letter see *Ormonde Papers*, i. p. 400.

## SIR GEORGE CARTERET.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Yesterday your letter of the  $\frac{1}{2}1$  of the last moneth came to my hands with the Duplicat of the same, wherein I perceave that you have procured a person of honour in your parts who is willinge to doe the *King* that *service as to disburse five thousand gilders for the relievinge Guernesey Castle with all necessary provisions till the end of September*, which are to be accounted *seaven full moneths from the end of the nexte moneth*. The said *place* wants not *only victualls but also powder*, wheeles for most of their *Ordinance*, and many *other things that are necessary for the defence of the same*; and besides, by what I have seene of late, *the officers there are not soe carfull of their provisions as they should be*. Therefore, all things considered, *five thousand gilders will nothing neere doe that worke, and Collonell Burges,<sup>a</sup> who comands that place, beinge latle here did declare unto me and unto the Justice that without two thousand pistolls he could not undertake to keepe that castle this nexte summer*; but I am very certaine that a farr smaller sume can doe it. *I have calculated the charge of this busines as low as possibley I can, and indeed it cannot be don under seaven thousand gilders*, and yet not consideringe many *losses that may happen in the transportation of the provisions, which must falle upon me, if I do undertake this service, except I can make the rest of the money hold out the tyme, which is unlikely*. Therefore, *if you can procure seaven thousand gilders (the money beinge payd within this moneth to those whome I shall apoint to receave it)*, I doe faithfull promise and ingage myselfe that for the said *sum of seaven thousand gilders* I will put in (by the grace of God) such a quantity

<sup>a</sup> Col. Roger Burgess, appointed Lieut.-Governor of Guernsey by the Governor, Lord Percy, in Oct. 1649. He surrendered Castle Cornet to Adm. Blake on 15 Dec. 1651.

of good provisions in Guernesey castle as will serve the garrison thereof (if it be no greater then it was the last summer, or is now at this present) for the terme of *seaven moneth* accordinge to the allowance of *victualls* that was usually given to the souldiors by Sir P. O.<sup>a</sup> and Sir B. Wake, when they had plenty of provisions; and of this money there shall be employed at the lest fiveteene hundred gilders in powder, wheeles for ordinance, lining, cloth, shoes and the like for the soldiers, which are things as necessary to be supplied as victualls. Betweene this and the end of the nexte moneth is the thime that the provisions must be sent in; for after that noe body will undertake it for three tymes the money. If this sum of *seaven thousand gilders* cannot be procured, and that onely *five thousand* be payd to those I shall apoint, I will see that the said money be carefully employd for the use of that castle and a true account given of all the particullers disbursements thereof; but I may not undertake any more then that for that sum. It is also to be understood that, if with the *seaven thousand gilders* I can put in more then *seaven moneths* provisions in the said castle, I shall doe it, and shall send an account unto you of all the particuller disbursements; for God knowes I doe not desire to get a farthinge by it, but if I can escape for the layeing out a hundred pound of my owne in this busines I shall thinke myselve a saver. Besides I shall be constrained to send them more provisions to make my last supply hold out untill the end of February as is desired in your letter. I doe desire that *five thousand gilders* of the money be payd to Mr Webster in Amsterdam and *two thousand* to Monsieur Maturin Pelicot in Amsterdam also, unto whome I doe send heerewith a

<sup>a</sup> Sir Peter Osborne, of Chicksand, co. Bedford; Lieut.-Governor of Guernsey under his brother-in-law, the Earl of Danby, for twenty-eight years. He was succeeded by Sir Baldwin Wake, 4 May, 1646 (Hoskins, *Charles II. in the Channel Islands*, i. p. 391).

letter from his corespondent for to order him to remit the money to *St. Malo*. This is all I can say for the present but that I am your Honours most humble and most obliged servant,

G. CARTERET.

Jersey,  $\frac{3}{15}$  Jan., 1650[1].

\*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO MR. SIM. SMITH [LORD HATTON].      Hague, 1 Febr. 1659, N.S.

I believe that Sir Ed. Hyde will be in France returned from Spain about the end of this or beginning of the next month; but I cannot believe that the L<sup>d</sup> Cottington will quit Spain, if he may stay there, the air, the religion, and the humours of the people there being so very agreeable to his L<sup>ps</sup> mind and disposition.

D. of York prepares to return for France . . . . He hath directions to govern himself by the advice and directions of the Queen, especially in all motions of importance; so as you see the Louvre must rule.

I very much fear that those counsels which have ruined the father and brought this good and hopeful King into this sad condition he is now in will never do better. You are most right in your judgment that those kingdoms are rarely happy or long-lived whose kings govern by favourites more than by well-composed councils.

There are like to be very great suits in law between the Princess Royal and the old Princess Dowager of Orange, wherein I have reason to doubt the council the Princess Royal follows (being composed principally of the Marquis Vieuville, M<sup>r</sup> Henfleete, the Lady Stanhope, my old servant Oudart), may be too weak, notwithstanding that they are wholly governed (as I hear) by the sage of

the Louvre : for I assure you, the Princess Dowager hath the reputation of a very discreet and wise woman and hath the honour and esteem of the best and ablest of all the States in these parts.

TO MR. S. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

8 Feb., N.S.

No express yet come from Scotland since the first of last month, but skippers and letters from merchants of Aberdeen say the K. was crowned the 2d of January and that the Levies there go on happily. I confess I cannot bring myself to believe that Argyle will ever endure the K. to have an army at his Majesty's devotion, while Hamilton is powerful with his Majesty, but that, being conscious of what mischief he hath done his Majesty and to the family of Hamilton, he will either betray the K. or himself rather trust Cromwell than his Majesty.

I believe Lord Jermyn sent his Secretary [Mr. Cowley]<sup>a</sup> into Scotland upon some design concerning Jersey or Guernsey about disposing of some of the King's jewels, to see if leave might be obtained for Lord Jermyn to go into Scotland, and concerning some settlement of a council to manage all the King's affairs on this side as the Queen shall direct.

I pray enquire after the cause and business whereupon Mr. Cowley was sent, which I believe will be no great secret after the Lord Jermyn shall be at the Louvre.

I should be very glad to understand from you how the Marq. of Ormonde likes the counsels and company at the Louvre, and whether he will therein join really, and whether he conceives that what shall be there advised on will be kept secret without endangering such honest men in England as may be concerned, which truly I cannot believe.

<sup>a</sup> Abraham Cowley, the poet, who, since his retirement from Oxford before its surrender, had been in France with Lord Jermyn. His name generally appears as "Mr. Cooley."



I must needs say that in my poor judgment the D. of York is no more sensible of neglects than his father or brother were.

I believe Sir Geo. Radcliffe will come into France ; and I will not say he may be gained by your friends at the Louvre, but, if he be gained, he is good for nothing.

TO MR. R. LANE.

$\frac{2}{12}$  February, 1654.

The States have resolved to acknowledge those in England a Republic.

The 30th of the last month being directed to be solemnly kept, and service being appointed to be in the church in the Hoof here, that morning, when all the loyal English were ready to enter, the church was shut and locked up, and the Qu. of Bohemia and D. of York with all the company were put to have the sermon and service in the D. of York's rooms ; which I note to you a beginning of these ungrateful Boores carriage against those that are well affected here.

The Princess Royal is like to have much trouble given her about the management of her son's estate by the power of the old Princess Dowager, chiefly (as I am told) out of a very great dislike to Mons<sup>r</sup> Henfleet, who is the Princess Royal's chief agent. When you have seen the extract of letters from France, you will see how desirous the French are to close with the rebels of England if they may be admitted.

Your old acquaintance Wat. Montagu <sup>a</sup> hath already taken upon [him] the Robe longue, and received the first orders, and intends before Easter (as I am credibly assured) to take the order of priesthood.

The rebels in England have great apprehensions of the army the

<sup>a</sup> Second son of Henry Montague, 1st Earl of Manchester. He became a Roman Catholic in 1631, and was afterwards made Abbé of St. Martin's, near Pontoise, and Almoner to Queen Henrietta Maria.

K. is raising ; but that which most astonishes them is that all parties with you are united and that the cavaliers and the royal party is taken into the K.'s army, which the rebels doubt may cause some risings in England, especially if any forces shall march from Scotland into England.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

$\frac{2}{15}$  Feb.

I may tell you that Secretary Nicholas<sup>a</sup> never comes to the D. of York, but to wait on him to church, or when the D. sends for him, being not well satisfied with any about him, and to avoid meddling in any business for the D. of York without particular command from the King.

I pray think how I may get the Queen's leave to compound, which in earnest, as I believe, it will be no hard matter to get, so I would be glad I knew how handsomely to obtain, and therefore I pray think how it may be cleanly done.

I should be glad to know whether my L<sup>d</sup> of Ormonde will join in counsels with those at the Louvre, which most here say are for the greatest part composed of atheists and amorous parasites, and are accordingly valued by all wise men that know anything of the Louvre, which I am, I assure you, heartily sorry for, seeing I perceive His Majesty relies so much on their advice.

Doth W<sup>m</sup> Coventry's gallant sisters know what a pillar and stickler he is become for presbytery and L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn's godly and politic designs?

Capt. Titus<sup>b</sup> and others just arrived from Scotland. I am told

<sup>a</sup> Whenever Nicholas is mentioned in the third person the name in the original was no doubt written in cipher.

<sup>b</sup> Silas Titus, Groom of the Bedchamber, formerly captain in the Parliamentary service ; reputed author of *Killing no Murder*, 1657. One object of his mission to Paris was to learn the Queen's opinion on a project of marriage between Charles and a daughter of Argyle (Hillier, *Charles I. in the Isle of Wight*, 1852, p. 324).

that that Capt. is sent expressly by the K. and Argyle to the Queen and hath letters to L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn and others at the Louvre.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

February 14.

I am credibly told that the King and Marq. Argyle have written now for L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn to come into Scotland. . . . I believe L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn will not dare go into Scotland, neither, as it is thought, will the Queen permit him so to do ; nor will I warrant he shall come safe back, if he go thither.

I doubt my L<sup>d</sup> Digby hath lost a very good friend in the Cardinal, and that he will not find the imprisoned princes very much his friends.<sup>a</sup>

I am told as a secret that D. Hamilton shall be Master of the Horse to the K. in England ; but I pray keep this to yourself.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

March 1, N.S.

Mr. Rainsford and Mr. Cowley are gone towards France, being the last that came from Scotland.

The Bp. of Derry<sup>b</sup> says that he was told at Antwerp by an intelligent person that the Queen did not long before the Cardinal was banished solicit the D. of Orleans to quit the party of the imprisoned princes, which, if true, I doubt the Pr. of Condé will remember and he may perhaps vindicate himself on L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn by doing him some affront, which doubtless would be most grievous to the Queen, and therefore some here apprehend it.

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<sup>a</sup> The Princes of Condé and Conti and the Duke of Longueville were released on 13 Feb., and, as a consequence, Mazarin had withdrawn into temporary exile.

<sup>b</sup> John Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, 1634 ; Archbishop of Armagh, 1661.

## MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

Caen, 2 March, 1651.

SIR,

Your leter of the 15 of February<sup>a</sup> found mee returned hether from Paris. I am sorry I came away before those mesengers and despatches sent out of Scotland were received by the Queene ; for, if I had bin there, it is possible I might have learnt more then will bee thought fit to bee writen. Yet when I came away I was assured to bee freely informed of all that should come by those that are well able to performe the undertakeing. Here was with mee yesterday one Father Barnewall (an honest frier and of a noble family)<sup>b</sup> lately landed at St. Malo, haveing imbarked in the River of Lymerick about three weekes since. How hee comes without any leters I know not, but his relations of the state hee left that kingdome in are as hopefull as any thing within itself can make it ; but all that will vanish before the power of the rebells, if they bee not diverted by domestick trouble or Ireland countenanced by foraigne assistance, and how farr to hope for ether of these I am to seeke. I have this day noe leters from Paris, soe that I am not able to judge whether the French state hath recovered shuch settlement as that it hath bin held fit to propose any thing touching the Duke of Yorkes comeing and reception, but if that state have sent over their Ambassador, I suppose Holland will bee noe fit residence for his Highnesse and that hee will seeke one where the Rebells are not acknowleged for anything but Rebells, as long as shuch a place can bee found. I doubt the Rebells are to confident of their owne strength, to make the proposition you mention to the King of Spaine, but I trust they will bee driven to lesse availeing refuges. That the King is admited to send his Ambassadors to all Princes is a concurring signe that the hot cleargy of Scotland may bee beaten

<sup>a</sup> Printed in *Ormonde Papers*, i. p. 407.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Nicholas Barnewall, of Turvey, was cr. Viscount Barnewall of Kingsland in 1646.

to a beleefe that God allowes shuch applications and comerce betweext nations differing in the ways of his service and that their idoll covenant is not able to save them. . . .

Your most affectionate humble servant,

ORMONDE.

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SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO THE EARL OF NORWICH.

6 March, N. S. [1651].

I hear from several persons the imprudence of the Louvre councils. They censure and jeer all that are not of their gang; but none commit so great indiscretions in their words and actions as themselves, whereof we have had too many sad experiments. And yet we shall not be rendered wiser, but must return to be governed by those whose conduct hath destroyed master and servants.

Unless there be a peace made between France and Spain, our master can hope for no great good from the first; but, if that were effected (as I believe France is now better disposed to it than ever), I am confident it would make His Majesty's enemies tremble.

I confess I want faith to believe that ever the private grudgings between Hamilton and Argyle will be reconciled by other than the death of one of them; and I conceive if they were both in Heaven it would be never the worse for the K. and the public even of both kingdoms, where they and their faction have contributed more to the miseries of our nation than any, except always some of your friends at the Louvre.

My Lord of Ormonde is returned from Paris to Caen till the D. of York shall be in France; which I hear some there are not so fervently desirous of as two months since, lest his Highness should be there more esteemed of than some of themselves.

A perfect honest man writes from Paris to me that the Queen



and L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn are exceedingly exalted upon the advertisement of the embassy of Titus to invite that Lord into Scotland. But Sir John Berkeley and Will. Coventry (that lord's great Counsellors) say that his L<sup>dy</sup> tho' invited must by no means go ; for that (they say) there is no man, nor ever was any man, so powerful and able to serve the K. in France as L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn is. I am sure our blessed master now with God nor this King had ever, that I know of, any effects from France of that so great ability of his Lordship's. And I believe this is now spoken at a very ill time ; for the Prince of Condé hath not yet bestowed one visit on the Queen, and (if I hear truth) hath no kindness at all for Lord Jermyn, but rather a great contempt of him.

I pray you, if you can get a sight of the last week's *Politicus*, observe how soon those in England have all the news of the Louvre, for therein is printed the effect of Mr Seymour's dispatch to the Queen, whereby the World may see what fit counsellors they there are to manage his Majesty's affairs.

I am sorry that so able and so discerning a person as the Marquis of Ormonde should be so intimate with Sir John Berkley and Will. Coventry, being persons so infinitely below him, not only in quality but in esteem with those best affected to his Majesty's cause and service. I hope it was rather out of the sweetness of his disposition than out of any approbation of their presbyterian tenents, for I am confident my Lord of Ormonde is very right for the Church of England and a perfect royalist in his heart and intentions. But I cannot wonder enough why my Lord of Ormonde hath put his papers into Walsingham's hands to draw up and print, for doubtless, when it shall be known that they come through his hands, all honest men will value them the less. I assure you, these are very great discouragements to Secret. Nicholas's coming into France ; for all the hope of comfort he had in being near the D. of York in council was that Marq. of Ormonde would not be prevailed [on] by the ill counsels of the Louvre.

I am very glad that it is there reported that Secret. Nicholas is hastening into Scotland. I pray by all means cherish that report and whisper it to your friend Sir Rich<sup>d</sup>. Browne and some others who you believe will acquaint our friends at the Louvre with it.

The K. having put all his affairs into the hands of the Louvre, I confess I have no hope they can ever prosper, which makes me still resolved to compound. But I doubt the K. will not give me leave to do so, and that Sir Edw. Hyde will never advise or assist in it.

TO THE E. OF NORWICH.

13<sup>th</sup> March.

Your friend the D. of Lorrain is held so crafty a statesman, as I can hardly give credit to any proposition he makes; for he (I hear) often pretends what he doth not at all intend, a small policy practised too much in this latter age.

As for the two great Jugglers (to say no worse of them) in Scotland, viz. Hamilton and Argyle, it is impossible to make a perfect union between them, unless it be in some treachery against the King; assuredly one of them must perish before their party can be brought to agree to help the King cordially.

I hear your friend Salmonet<sup>a</sup> is a great instrument for some of the rebels agents at Paris to render the coadjutor a friend to the rebels in England, and that one Watson and Dr. Holden<sup>b</sup> (two great men with some at the Louvre) are the two agents who employ that your friend and, I hear, bribe him to bribe the coadjutor; whereof I thought good to give your L<sup>dy</sup> this notice, that you may be the more careful in your correspondence with Salmonet. And, if you shall go into France, you may peradventure discover many secrets and private transactions by his means.

<sup>a</sup> Robert Monteith, called Salmonet from his birthplace in Stirlingshire; patronised by De Retz, who made him Canon of Notre Dame. He was author of a *Hist. des troubles de la Gr. Bretagne*, 1631-1650, Paris, 1661.

<sup>b</sup> Henry Holden, a native of Lancashire, educated at Douay, and a doctor of the Sorbonne; author of *Divinæ Fidei Analysis*, Paris, 1652, etc.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

$\frac{5}{15}$  March.

I heard Marsis said not long since to one at Paris that there is a book there in the press, wherein amongst other things the Queen is much traduced, being alledged therein to have been the chief cause of her husband's (our late royal master's) misfortune and misery. The other part of that book (I am told) is the deification of K. Charles, written by a Catholic.

I pray you, if you have so good intelligence in the Prince of Condé's house, use some means to get him truly informed how the D. of York is used by the Louvre, and let a true character be given him of Sir John Berkley (who pretends to have great credit with Pr. of Condé) and the rest of your friends at the Louvre.

Is not Watson who is now there [at Paris] so great with my friend Sir John Berkley the same broken goldsmith that was scoutmaster in the West country under the Lord Fairfax and went into Italy on pretence for his health?

TO THE E. OF NORWICH.

$\frac{11}{11}$  March.

. . . . It<sup>a</sup> is most certain that the L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn is by the K. and Argyle sent for expressly to come into Scotland, to be there made Se retary of State for England; and that Titus, who brings this invitation to L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn, hath also the like for Mr. Denz. Holles to be the other Secretary. The former of these, having by this means obtained the place he hath long laboured to attain unto, is preparing with all speed to hasten into Scotland, whither some conceive the Queen will not permit L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn to go. But Mr. Long assures me that Her Majesty had fully consented to it, before Mr. Cowley went into Scotland. As for Holles, those who seem to know him best believe that he will not accept of that place, until he shall see the K. more likely and nearer the recovery of his just rights.

<sup>a</sup> The preceding portion of this letter is identical with the "Extract of a letter from Paris" of 10 Mar. sent by Nicholas to Ormonde and printed in *Orm. Pap.* i. p. 425.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

1½ March.

The D. of York writ a letter with his own hand a fortnight since to the Pr. of Condé, and (as I hear) sent it to Sir John Berkley to deliver, and likewise to the other princes, congratulating their liberty. And I have been told that Mr. Cowley brought letters also from the K. to the same effect. I assure those in France who think the K. is weak in his understanding are very much deceived, for he (as I am credibly advertised) doth express very good abilities; but, having no faithful person to assist him and having to do with a perfidious and crafty generation, he is overborne, and so would the best Frenchman of them all, if so matcht.

The Embassadors<sup>a</sup> are expected here from England every day; which makes the D. of York resolved to go for Breda, as soon as he can possibly get some money to bear the charges of removing. And Secretary Nicholas and Mr. Attorney intend also to go thither for some time.

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

Caen, 23 of March, 1651.

SIR,

. . . . I have, as you desired mee, decyphered the extract of a leter you sent mee in yours of the 8<sup>th</sup> of this month with my owne hand, as I doe all the leters I receive from you.<sup>b</sup> I shall suspend the giving of any judgement upon what hee writes, both because his feares and dislikes are expressed in generall against persons and the particular things they have done not mentioned, and because it would be unreasonable in mee to finde fault with his feares and dislikes, not

<sup>a</sup> Oliver St. John, and Walter Strickland, Members of the Council of State.

<sup>b</sup> Down to this point (but including a paragraph here omitted) this letter agrees with that printed in *Orm. Pap.* i. p. 433; but the rest of the two letters differs entirely. For the answer see *Orm. Pap.* p. 435.



knowing the ground of them, as it would bee in him to expect that, without such knowledge, I should joyne with him in them. What occurs to mee upon this subject is not worth the paines of cyphering or decyphering, and I hope I shall have oportunitys seasonable enough to entertaine you with it lesse to your trouble. In the meane time, this is my beleef that, without a miracle raise the kings antient constantly loyall party, they have neither visible power nor pregnant hope to raise themselves. It must therefore follow they must ether lye still under the Tyranny that oppresses them or expect the beginings of motion from foraigne or domestick introduction. If they bee not admited to have a parte, I conceive they are to acquiesce; and though they bee excluded without hope of being advantaged in the successe of the first oposers, yet they ought to wish on their side at least as long as they are weakest. But if they may have admittance to co-operate in the destruction of the rebells without pressures inconsistent with honour and conscience, I conceive they not only may but ought to contribute all their endeavours towards it, and reserve their purpose of endeavouring to restore church and state to their full right for a time whenn God may shew them how it may bee done. Under this generall rule fall many particulars, wherein every man is allowed to bee judge of his owne ways to ataine to a good end and what latitude is fit for him to give himself; for, though it hath pleased God to lay us flat upon the ground for our sins, hee hath not forbidden us to looke about how wee may rise. I depend much upon your beleef of my constancy to myself and the principles of our late blessed master. I hope I shall bee found as little to swerve from them as anybody that hath noe more understanding then

Your most affectionate servant,

ORMONDE.

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SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO MR. RICH. FANCHAW.

17  
27 March, [1651].

The things called Embassadors, St Johns and Strickland, arrived at Rotterdam the last week in great pomp, having two coaches with six horses a peece, besides other horses. Their train is above 200 of all sorts, but such a composed company as renders them for all their bravery contemptible, even to the boys, who, as they passed the streets, called them *Connick-Stickers*, regicides.

The D. of York is this morning gone to Breda. His highness did hope to have been in France before this time, which had been much better and he hath much pressed it; but the unsettledness of the government and affairs there is such as it seems the Queen hath not yet found it seasonable to send for the Duke. . . . He is here in great want of money and hath little hope to get any but by the K.'s more strict commands to those that have the ordering thereof.

If the K. will not be pleased for the management and ordering of all his great affairs to settle a council of loyal persons that are confident of each other and in whom his best servants will confide, I very much apprehend the consequence of it.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

18  
28 March.

I hear Lord Digby is in favour with the Pr. of Condé, who hath gotten him an addition of 200 pistoles a month to his former pension of 100 pistoles; and his L<sup>dy</sup> is sent to command the troops in Normandy, and is promised by that prince higher commands.

There was in the little court great dispute whether it was fit the D. of York should go to Breda or stay here; which being proposed to the Duke, when the Lord Culpepper, Lord Biron, Mr Attorney and myself were present, all but the Lord Biron were expressly for his going to Breda. . . . If any money could have been gotten for his Highness's remove sooner, he had been gone hence

before they [English Embassadors] had landed, which doubtless had been better.

Secret. Nicholas is desirous to see what return Mr. Fanshaw will bring out of Scotland before he resolves of anything. Only I assure you he hath within these two days written to the King for leave to retire, being weary and apprehensive of the success of the Louvre council's management of affairs.

TO MR RICH. FANSHAW.

3 April, N. S.

SIR,

Tho' I have received no particular orders from the K., I have not omitted to send by several messengers to the K.'s best friends in England to be in a readiness to rise as soon as they shall hear from the King or be assured that his Majesty is engaged; and I pray put him in mind to send several expresses to give timely notice both unto England and hither when he would have his friends to rise there for him.

TO MR HART'S SON.<sup>a</sup>

3 April, N. S.

I have had the honour of yours of the 11 of Febr. . . . It will not be possible for your servants here to give you from hence timely notice when it may be fit for you there to rise; but I wish that all things should be presently put into readiness. For the K. having already great numbers of horse and foot (near 30,000), it is said they are by this, or will be very shortly, in a body and they cannot continue so many days in Scotland for want of provisions, so as his Majesty must with the very first opportunity put them into action, and as soon as his Majesty shall be engaged it will be necessary that all his friends in England rise. I presume you will hear of the E. of Derby's appearing with the

<sup>a</sup> Doubtless Lord Beauchamp, son of the Marquis of Hertford, is meant.

first in England ; for he, being near and having had late frequent advices from his Majesty, will, I believe, stir with the first.

I wish you would have several couriers to lie northward about Lancashire and Westmorland and those parts, to bring you speedy and certain notice when the K. is marching, that you may not be deceived by false alarms, whereof I believe you will have many. Immediately upon your rising it will be necessary that, in the first place, you seize at one time all the horse troops in each county, making them sure ; and that you be ever vigilant by small parties to hinder (as much as may be) all intelligence to be sent to give notice of your actions. There is now certainly a great crisis at hand, there being, I assure you, in several other parts of the kingdom divers irons in the fire, so as it cannot now be many weeks before you shall see a great change. God grant it may be for his glory and the comfort of honest minds.

TO MR SMITH [LORD HATTON].

5 April, N. S.

The Kings affairs will never prosper whilst pretenders to wit and medisans are acquainted with any part of it . . . . I assure [you] I hear from England and Scotland both that the K. is admirably active and intelligent in all his great affairs.

The Marquis of Ormonde is, I hear, much unsatisfied with the Louvre ways and company, and told them openly that they were there all turned Presbyterians. I am very confident he will never be of the faction or party of Presbyterians, tho' he may wish (as you and I do) that all parties would join to destroy the rebels of England.

TO MR SMITH [LORD HATTON].

$\frac{2}{12}$  April.

I have seen a letter of the  $\frac{11}{12}$  of March from St. Johnstons that speaks very doubtfully of the K.'s affairs there ; and by what I understand from several good men who have particular intelligence from Scotland the great design of the present rulers there is to

bring the King to such necessities as to compell him to treat with Cromwell on the propositions which Sir Alex: Hope<sup>a</sup> advised him unto, and truly I much apprehend it.

I pray get a sight of Sir John Berkley's relation of that unhappy business of the King's going to the Isle of Wight, and learn, if you can, with whom M<sup>r</sup> Ashburnham doth correspond at the Louvre. I am now told that Sir John Berkley intends to print that his relation.<sup>b</sup>

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

<sup>9</sup>/<sub>18</sub> April.

I may truly complain, as your L<sup>dp</sup> doth, that I have received but one letter from the K. or any about him of any business since he went to Scotland, tho' I have written many, and some (as I conceive) of no small importance. And [if] by M<sup>r</sup> Rich. Fanshaw I shall receive no commands, I shall then consider what course to take for the subsistance of myself and poor family, being reduced even to the last bit of bread. I do not conceive I am obliged to suffer my wife and children to starve in the streets, when I may, without oaths or engagements, purchase a poor subsistance out of my own even from the worst of Thieves, which I conceive to be no submission but a patient bearing of the punishment God lays on me.

It is most true that the Queen was much unsatisfied with the D. of York's leaving her as he did, and with his council; and I wish there were not so much cause for it, for indeed it was a strange counsel, and I cannot commend the counsellors that are said to have given it, tho' some of them pretend kindness to me.

Your friend, and not mine, Sir John Berkley, hath now gotten a patent to be Master of the Wards. How it will stand with

<sup>a</sup> He was arrested in Jan. 1651 for advising the King, as he expressed it in his depositions, "to treatt with Cromwell for the one halff of his cloacke befor he lost the quhole," but was released in a few days (Balfour, iv. pp. 238-246).

<sup>b</sup> It did not appear till 1699, under the title *Memoirs of Sir John Berkeley*.

the King's justice to punish my friend John Ashburnham and reward yours, they being both alike under great jealousy for one and the same business, I cannot well comprehend. I hope they are both innocent; but if one of them deserves punishment, I conceive the other will not be so clear as to meet a recompense.

The great discoveries that are now and will be made by the intercepting of Berkenhead,<sup>a</sup> and since by apprehending of Mr Tho. Cooke,<sup>b</sup> will, I believe, overthrow all hopes of any rising in England for the K., without which, I conceive, the Scots will be able to do little good.

## MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

Caen, 20 Aprill, 1651.<sup>c</sup>

SIR,

I finde with much satisfaction that there is noe essentiall difference in our opinions or resolutions, but that they tend to one end and by like mediums. I confesse my impatience at the rule the villaines in England have gotten and are in to facil a way to establish may make mee to hasty. I have just now received yours of the 12 of this month but must deffer my answer till the next post.

On Monday or Teusday next I goe as farr as Pontlevesque to meete my Lord Digby. Affter that meeteing I shall bee able perhaps to give you some pertinent notice of the affaires of the French court and concerning the Duke of Yorkes comeing into this Kingdome. I am heartily sorry for that Berkenheerds being taken,

<sup>a</sup> Isaac Berkenhead, brother of Sir John, taken prisoner while conveying dispatches between Charles II. in Scotland and the Earl of Derby.

<sup>b</sup> Described as of Gray's Inn (Peacock, *Royalist Confiscation Acts*, p. 30). Particulars of his committal to the Tower on 18 Mar. 1651, his escape and capture, and his examination will be found in the *Cal. of St. Papers* for 1651.

<sup>c</sup> For the answer see *Orm. Pap.* i. p. 452.



both for the fatall discoverys his feare will force from him and for the poore mans danger, which will bee great when it shall bee discovered that it was hee that discovered to mee a trechery intended by one Tickell against mee in Ireland, wherupon it was prevented and Tickell executed. The meeting I told you of in my last is at least delayd, I beleeeve wholly layd aside, one of those that should have met haveing to much in the Rebells power and to much love of it to hazard it lightly. I hear Cap<sup>tn</sup> Titus is againe gone for Hollond and thence before now into Scotland. I doe not finde my Lord Jermyns voyage thither soe confidently spoken of as it was; it is possible *Hollis* approves not the invitation and perhaps 418 is of the same minde for other reasons . . . .

Your most affectionate humble servant,

ORMONDE.

SIR GEORGE CARTERET.

10<sup>th</sup> Apr. 1651.

RIGHT HONO<sup>ble</sup>,

. . . . Two days since I receaved a letter from my Lord Culpeper of the 29 of March, wherein his Lpp. advise me that he hath payd the 5000 guilders to Mr Webster without any defalcation; but it seemes there is some mistake in it, for Mr Webster writs in his account these words: "For allowance for banke money 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. payd to the Lord Culpeper 143 „ 15," but pray take no notice of it. His Lordship writs unto me also that he hath sent a bill at Paris for 1124 guilders 14 sols., which Mr Cowley (unto whome the bill was directed) writs me is accepted and shall be payd the 29 of May, so that, if these two bills be pontually payd (whereof there is little doubt), there remaines but 875 guilders to make up the 7000 which I demended; but there hath happened divers accidents since, which have caused a very great increase of charge, which I hope will be considered, and in the meane tyme I will

indeaver to acquit mysele of my promisse and duty, wherein I thanke God I have made a good progresse already. I know not what those falce tongs in Hollond meanes by *my* keepeing *the falce coyners toules* (if *falce coyners* they were) ; for, haveinge examined what they left in the *Island*, I can learne but of a paire of *billowes* and *two or three* peeces of iron, which I thinke are for no use to that trade. *I am* but litle beholdinge, nor *the King* nether, to those that braught them to this *Island*, if they knwe them to be knaves, and yet lesse to those that slender me with it ; *for I am no christian if I have not told you all I know* of this matter. *It seemes that I have many enemys* abrode, which *I have not* deserved ; but for my part I should not be sorry if they were always at my elbow to overlooke all my actions, if so be they did judge of them as christians and not as courtiers, whereof good God deliver me ! Van Trump is with his fleete crusinge about Silly. Heere is a report (but I have it not from any good hand) that he hath taken two of the men of warre of that *Island*. I belive that he hath no order to meddle with those of this place ; for no longer agoe then two days since two of his shipps did meete in a fogg a frigate of this *Island*, which they tooke, but, after they had seene the comissions and that shee did belong to this *Island*, they let her goe and did use the Captaine with much civility for a Dutch man. The God of heaven preserve you.

Your most humble and most obliged servant,

G. CARTERET.

\*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO LORD HOPTON.

14 April, [1651].

France and Spain are desirous to ingratiate the good opinion of those in England, they being by a long and chargeable war drawn so very low as, if the rebels should join with either (when they

shall have finished the league they are about with these States), the other King would run a great hazard to be ruined. I have written my sense of it to the K. and advised him to send an express to the Prince of Condé to prevent it.

Titus hath brought Holles to Caen, and I hear they are thence to come to some place in or near Roan to meet with Lord Jermyn, who gives forth and makes preparations as if he intended really to go speedily for Scotland, which I cannot believe he will do, untill he shall be assured that the K. is in a more prosperous condition than I doubt he is.

I am very credibly informed that the Queen hath at present very little credit in the French court, and Lord Jermyn less. She hath lately (as I hear) caused all her servants that will not turn papists, or cannot live of themselves without wages, to be warned to provide for themselves, whereupon, I am advertised, some of the female sex begin already to have scruples.

TO MR. RICH. HARDING.

1<sup>st</sup> April.

An express newly come hither from England to their pretended Embassadors here . . . says Mr. Cooke hath dealt so clearly and ingenuously with the Council of State as they are much satisfied with his confession and examinations; whereby so many men of quality are discovered as those in England do now pick and choose the most potent and popular, holding it prudence not to seize all the persons against whom (they say) they have pregnant and exact information, the number of them being too great to be dealt with in the absence of their army.

I have sent you a list of the several persons put under restraint in England since the intercepting of Berkenhead and the retaking of Mr. Cooke, which was a sad and fatal misfortune to the K. as hath befallen him since the horrid murder of his blessed father, it being like to prove the ruin of most of his Majesty's best affected subjects in England, as well presbyterians as others. It is believed that

Berkenhead was intercepted by some treacherous intelligence from Scotland, where it is confidently said there are some (employed in greatest secrets) that give daily (or rather nightly) intelligence of all results and of whatsoever is designed in secret council by the King.

Capt. Titus being returned out of France with very many letters for Scotland, his servant (which, he saith, was recommended to him by the Lord Wilmot) cut open his portmanteau and took out all his letters, and it is believed hath carried them to Mr. St. Johns and Mr. Strickland here, who, it is thought, have sent him with their their comment upon them into England.

I am now preparing to go for Wesel; for now the King's party are in a manner destroyed in Ingland, I do not see how I can be of any use or service to his Majesty, and shall therefore take the best course I can to preserve myself and poor family from starving.

COL. RICHARD THORNHILL<sup>a</sup> AND JOHN HEATH.<sup>b</sup>

SIR,

May 3d, 1651, stilo novo.

His Ma<sup>ty</sup> haveing at Breda, before his departure for Scotland, commanded us to communicate to Mr. Thomas Cooke all affayres of our county of Kent relateing to his Majestys service, and for that purpose to fixe a correspondence with him and to pursue such orders and instructions as wee should receive from him, in obedience thereto wee frankly informed him of the present state of that county

<sup>a</sup> Of Ollantigh, co. Kent; married Joan, daughter of Sir Bevil Grenville. His estates were confiscated in this year (Peacock, *Royalist Confiscation Acts*, 1879, p. 24).

<sup>b</sup> Of Brasted, co. Kent, second son of Chief Justice Sir Robert Heath; made "of the King's Council" for dispatching warrants in 1653 (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. 279).

and of the severall affections, interests, and capacitys (as wee then conceived) of the most considerable persons thereof to serve his Majesty, of which hee had from us some short memorialls in writeing before hee went for England. Since which hee hath written to one of us two letters, one dated the 4th of July, another the 9th of August, 1650, both importing no more then that men in generall were possessed with feares and distrusts and that hee could not at present desyre or direct our further adventure upon that stock. Besides those two wee never received any letter or message from him till on the 8th of Aprill last (English account) a letter was brought to Rotterdam directed to Mr. Richard Smyth (which is Coll. Thornehills name of correspondence with Mr. Cooke) by one who sayd hee was newly landed from England and was to retorne speedily and therefore pressed for a suddayne answer. Wee suspecting the messenger contrived the letter to bee received by one who personated Richard Smyth (of which letter this inclosed is a copy), and the bearer is returned for England (as wee are told) without any answer or speakeing with or seeing Coll. Thornehill. The letter is dated the 3d of Aprill <sup>a</sup> (which was fowre dayes after Mr. Cookes second apprehension), before which time, it is reported, hee had impeached diverse persons of quality and revealed to the Councell of State his knowledge of his Majestys affayres. What hee has done or what the ill consequence thereof may prove throughout the kingdome wee take not on us to know or judge, butt hope (at the worst) our county is not capable of receiveing much prejudice by him,<sup>b</sup> because what wee communicated to him was butt barely as our owne opinion without any treaty had by us with any of our countrymen, and since his goeing into England hee never received any letter or message from us. Butt whatever mis-

<sup>a</sup> This letter is in *Cal. State Papers*, p. 130.

<sup>b</sup> The "gentlemen of Kent" who had been arrested were released on bonds on 28 May (*Ibid.* p. 222).



fortune ensues thereon, wee hope his Majesty will bee tender of imputeing it to us, our free communications to Mr. Cooke being in pursuance of his Majestys commands. . . . .

Your very humble servants,

RICHARD THORNEHILL.

JO. HEATH.

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

\*

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

3 May, N. S. [1651].

I am very sorry for Capt. Mead's sickness and discontent. I am easy to believe that the Queen of Swede hath been lost thro' the artifice of the Louvre and their agents, and the King's too much indulgence to the Louvre counsels; which neglect of that gallant Queen after so great testimony given of her good affection to the K.'s cause and interests will reflect much, I doubt, on the K.'s honour, tho' he hath been merely passive in it.

Titus now gives forth that he hath by him all his chief letters and instructions; but he confesses that they [S<sup>t</sup> John and Strickland] have three of the Queen's letters, but saith there is nothing in them but mere compliment. But a fortnight hence we shall see more truths thereof than a presbyterian can speak.

There are some honest gentlemen of quality escaped and come hither that tell many strange and incredible stories of Mr Cooke's betraying all the K.'s business, and of all persons that in England hath been faithful to the King.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

3 May, N. S.

The K.'s business and friends in England are totally ruined by the many discoveries lately made there by the intercepting of Berkenhead, but especially by what Mr Tho. Cooke hath (it is said)

voluntarily discovered. He, being a perfect and prudent Presbyterian, was (it seems) held fittest to be intrusted with the secrets of all his Majesty's designs and friends in England, which he hath so fully and clearly made known to his old friend Bradshaw as it is said there are not less than 2000 noblemen and gentlemen of quality imprisoned and under restraint there at present.

It is likewise said that Sir Abr. Shipman being apprehended hath peached many persons that are well affected to the K. and brought them into question for their lives.

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LORD HOPTON.

SIR,

I humbly thank you for the favor of your last letter. I just now heare that Mr. Fanshaw is come. I hope we shall have by him some good newes of his Majesties proceedings. My Lord Culpeper hath beene here now these 3 weekes, and hath taken a house, and is much pleased with the please [place]. He hath, since wee have beene together, severall times perswaded me to think of compounding and to procure his Majesties leave for it. It may be he would have it a secret and therefore I pray you to keepe it to your self. I am never a whit the more perswaded to it; yet, if others have the Kings leave, I should be glad to have that testimony of his Majesties favorable care of me, that will cost him nothing. I desire you, if you think it .fitt, to take the opportunity to move it forward as from yourself and to lay the fault on my modesty, as I protest it is, that I aske it not. I heare there is *some rising in the west*, I pray God it be well. I desire much your opinion of it. I rest ever

Your most affectionate reall servant,

RALPH HOPTON.

Weszell, May 6, 1651.

## LORD INCHIUIN.

Utrecht, 11<sup>o</sup> Maii, 1651, N. S.

SIR,

The Duke of Yorke stopp'd my intended voyage by Coll. Blague<sup>a</sup> (as I thought) by occasion of somthing that came to him by Mr. Fanshaw, whome his highness mencioned to be com into Zealand, whereuppon I tooke the inclosed letter with mee to Breda, where I heard noe newes of Mr. Fanshaw nor of anything from his Majestie, the onely occasion of the Dukes sending for mee being his irresolucion toucheing the Instructions which (uppon my being before with him) he had designed for mee. What occasioned this I know not, but guess it was uppon a letter my Lord of Norwich writt intymateing that he had discoursed with the Duke of Lorreigne<sup>b</sup> of the business in agitation betweene him and my Lord Taaffe, and that he founde noe grounde to beleeeve reall intencions on the Dukes parte. Since then I have received letters from my Lord Taaffe giveing all assureance that the Duke will accomplish all he has said, if the King pleas to satisfie his expectation in the behalfe of his daughter, which he expresses to be onely to have a competent Joynter for her and estate for her children (if any shee has by the Duke) settled in Ireland, which he has confidence to recover, whatever becoms of England. I sent your letters to the King, to whome I have given as full an accompte as

<sup>a</sup> Col. Thomas Blagge, of Horningsheath, co. Suffolk; Groom of the Bed-chamber.

<sup>b</sup> Charles III. Duke of Lorraine, succeeded in 1625. He was driven out of his duchy by the French in 1634, after which "he had retired to Brussels with his army which he kept up very strong, and served the King of Spain with it against the French . . . by which he received great sums of money yearly from the Spaniard, and was sure very rich in money" (Clarendon, p. 718). Clarendon's further account of him and of his mode of life at Brussels is very curious. Negotiations were in progress for the marriage of the Duke of York to his daughter Anne, now a child about 12 years of age. She became the wife of Jules, Prince of Lillebonne, in 1660.

I could of all I was to comunicatt to him, and have desired a comission to be sent to my Lord of Ormond to treat with the Duke of Lorreigne with instructions to be first well assured that probably he may make advantage of the treatie for his service. I think now of goeing for Scotland the begining of this next month, being to attend the Duke of York as farr as Bruxelles on his journey to France. . . .

Your very affectionat humble servant,

INCHIQUINE.

VISCOUNT TAAFE TO LORD INCHIQUIN.

Bruxeles, the 23d of Aprill, 1651.

MY LORD,

You should have heard sooner from mee had not the Duke of Lorreign bein soe extreamely sick as that he admitted of noe visits untill it was within these three dayes. He is now perfectly recovered and very constant (as he tells mee) in his resolucions of affordeing the Duke of Yorke such assistance as will (by Gods permission) recover Ireland, if his Majestie consent to the marriage, whereunto I can give noe other inducement then the advantages that by the recoverie of such a kingdom may be derived to his Majestie. Accordeing [to] my observation the Duke of Lorreign expects that his Majestie will settle a joynter to his daughter out of his revenues in Ireland and an estate for her children, if God bless her with any, by his Highness Royall, which is the onely condicion I have heard him discours off. And, if I fayle not in my judgment, his designes principally extend to the disposeall of his daughter soe advantagiously and to be a knownen instrument in recovering the King his dominions, to whome he desires your lordship would present his most humble service and to tell him that he is inseperably tyed to his interest. I wish your Lordship a most

happye passage and a speedie returne, whereupon depends very much. I shall not faile to indeavour the haveing of all things in preparation. I am now agreeing for shipping and have talked with the Duke of Lorreigne concerning Prince Rupert, of whose fleete he sayes greate use may be made, if he could be prevayled with to attend the transportacion of what mony, men, &c., might be put into Ireland. And in regarde of the impediments the Spaniard and Hollander will give in permitting any men to pass from theyr ports, I have writt to my Lord of Ormond and to the Queene to trye if the French will lysence a free passage from theyr portes ; which, if procured, leaves noe difficultie in goeing through with the matter, if creditt may be given to what the Duke of Lorreigne assures mee every day ; which, by what others say, is a dought to be made, though I cannot accuse him of any inconstancie. . . .

Your Lordships, &c.

TAAFFE.

*Copy.*

*In the hand of Lord Inchiquin.*

---

THE SAME.

My Lord Taaffe sayes that the D[uke] of Lorreigne was exceeding desirous to have serv'd the King, but was much discouraged to attempt any thing for that purpose by a message delivered by Doctour Gough in his Majesties name, wherein the Duke sayes the Doctour desired his highness not to intermedle with anything relating to his Majestie, but yett did soe litle creditt that to be delivered by his Majesties comandes as that he was still readie to approve his readiness to serve him particularly in sending of forces and competent supplies into Ireland for that end, if Galway or Limerick were putt into his hands for caucion, till he were payd his disbursments. But my Lord said that which would ingage the Duke of Lorreigne to lay out a million of mony, if it should be requisite, upon that worke would be the Duke of Yorks matcheing



with his daughter; whereupon, if the king thought fitt to imploy him for Ireland with my Lord of Ormond and som other persons aboute him, he would furnish all necessaries for that expedicion. The provisos that he made were:—first, that his Majestie should provide accordeing to his expectacion for the Duke with his wife and his posteritie; next, that he would remove som persons (whome he accompted meane and did not lyke) from aboute the Duke and place persons of more honour aboute him. He tould me alsoe the Duke would add twentie brave friggetts to the fleete, soe as his Highness Royall did himselve comande them, and, if more were requisite, he would buy them and would finde means to transport his men into Ireland notwithstanding all difficulties, if this match were agreed on. He said the D. of Lorreigne was yet willing to send shippes and forces to reduce Garnezie, soe as his Lordship were appoynted to comande and keepe the castle till the charge of that expedicion should be repayed him. I demanded what groundes his Lordship had to beleewe that the D. of Lorreigne would at this time (when his Majesties affayres were in soe hazardous a condicion) desire this match and disburss soe greate summs of mony upon soe uncertaine tearms. Whereunto his Lordship answered that what he spake was from the Duke of Lorreigns mouth, giveing mee reasons why the Duke thought not fitt to speake of this business till my Lord of Ormond or I came thither, and sayed that, for his mony, the Duke did think it secure inough upon the caucion expected notwithstanding the power of the Rebellles in that kingdom, but that the mayne inducement was that being towards the end of his dayes there was nothing soe much his desire as the leaving his posteritie in good reputacion, in order whereunto he thought his undertakeing the warr of Ireland would be the most probable means, expecting thereby to gett the Pope to confirme his divorce from his first<sup>a</sup> (and marriage to his second) wife, which

<sup>a</sup> He had married in 1621 Nicole de Lorraine, his cousin, daughter of Henry II.

would render the legitimacie of his children free from that doubt which the suite continued by his first lady does subject it too. This he thinks to compass by seeming to the Pope to undertake the warr of Ireland for the defence of the Catholique religion there.

*Endorsed by Nicholas : Martii. Coppy of the relation by the Lo. Taaff to y<sup>e</sup> Lo. Inchiquin from the D. of Lorraine, whereof a coppy was sent in cipher to the King by the Lo. Inchiquin.*

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LORD HATTON.<sup>a</sup>

SIR,

(1.)

I have receaved yours of the 10th of May st. no. and I sent mine to you the last weeke according to the same address you confirme to me in this of yours now. I am beholding to you for beleiving my indisposition ; for heere, allthough our frend raves of the gout himselfe and that on Sunday last I was forced to take phisick suddenly and to be let blood on Munday, yet he hath nether compassion nor faith for anybodies distemper [then] of his owne. I have given him the gout by three or foure severall feasts I have made him and yet he scolds as if I starved him. Sir, I thank God I am very much satisfied in the cause I suffer for ; and, though wee be not looked on by those for whose interrest wee suffer, I doubt not but wee shall be in another world by that King of kings for whose service wee have undergone these afflictions in order to his comands. What messages may be sent from the Louvre I know not ; but wee heere that are lookers on admire that any that are

Duke of Lorraine, but had divorced her in 1637, and in the same year married Beatrix de Cusance, widow of Eugene d'Oiselet, Prince of Chantecroix.

<sup>a</sup> This letter is undated, but is endorsed by Nicholas as received on  $\frac{1}{2}$  May. For a letter from Hatton to Nicholas dated  $\frac{2}{12}$  Apr., 1651, see *Cal. of State Papers*, p. 127.

not the Louvre creatures can be persuaded that this contrey can or will receave the Duke of Yorke at this tyme or that the Louvre entend to keepe him at their charge. A pension of 4000 pistolls is soone named and perhaps the Queene of France may say it ; but, beleeve me, sir, shee is noe more able to sett it upon a good fond then I am, unless shee will give it out of her purse, and yet I thinke that were not very sure. The truth is, heere is not the least appearance of his sending for, nor doubtless the least intention towards it, unless they can strip him into his doublet and hose and cashiere all about him but their owne creatures. Be confident, sir, none willbe invited and as confident, who ever comes, though *Dr. Stuart bringing the Kings comand*, he shall bee heere cast of and not admitted into the Louvre, and that is resolved on and they say they have leave come soe to doe at least. And when as lately *Dr. Stuart writt to a Lady here to move the Queene to heare him, the Queene* made answeare she would, but he should loose his aime to interpret that as a leave to come *with the Duke of Yorke*, which she must interpret as an affront if he did and would use him accordingly. The first part was sent him by the converted *Lady*, but not the latter; and assure yourself, whilst any one comes they like not, he shall never come heere, especially I find *Dr. Stuart*, whom they take to be the prop of *Sir Geo. Ratclif* and *Dr. Killigrew* and an engine to bring them back. You would wonder to heare what speeches *the Queene* used unto his *Ladys sister here* upon the rumor of that *Drs.* being landed at Callice and intending to come up hither. I could tire you with this theame, but I shall wind it up in the confidence the Louvre entend not to send for the Duke, unless every one of those who they like not may be removed. I am confident the French court nether can nor will settle 4000 pistolls pension on him upon a good fond. I am confident the conjuncture of affaires here is noe wayes propitious to his jorney hither; and I am confident the Louvre doe make themselves sport with the Dukes necessities, which they have taken order his sister shall not

suply, and they looke upon it as a baite to catch him as they please when they thinke it worth their paines. And I am not alone in these confidences. *Lord Norwich is of the same minde*, and findes as tickle a jade to mount (*France I meane*) as ever he bestrid. And yet I am persuaded he will doe service in the maine, though not in this of *the Duke of Yorke*; but I am of opinion he must then be backed *by the King* and assisted by some others. *Sir E[dward] H[yde]* purposeth to set forward from hence on Munday next. I cannot yet scrue up my fayth to the Louvre pitch of the Scotch affaires. How ill matters goe at Scilly I suppose the prints tell you, and the ships upon this coast confirme it. The Germain commander<sup>a</sup> is very right in esteeming those gent. good and lawfull prize. I am likewise very glad that among all the discoveries wee heare not *Sir Wm. Compton*<sup>b</sup>; but I beleewe you will heare *Sir Thomas Gardner*<sup>c</sup> *will be ruined by his daughter's folly*. It seemes upon the death of *Lord Keeper Lane* she moved the *Queene* that she would procure the *King* to make her father *Lord Keeper*, with assurance of obedience to the *Louvre* and tribute unto *Lord Jermyn*. *The Queene* undertooke it and shewes her an assurance from the *King*, wherein the request is granted. Heereupon the foolish girle writes unto the *King* to thank him and sends this letter by *Titus*. And to adde madnes to the folly, upon the newes of his mans knavery she bemoanes herselfe of her great mishap and to as tatling goships as any are in the family where shee is tells this story. This is by this meanes growne soe common that, if the letter should have scaped in the adventure, yet this latter discovery may produce as

<sup>a</sup> This allusion is probably to a certain "High German named Staiger . . . . Major to Lord Machelin" [Maitland], who had brought letters from Scotland to the Louvre and had then crossed to England, as it was suspected, with a traitorous design (Nicholas to Ormonde, 3 May, *Orm. Papers*, i. p. 454).

<sup>b</sup> Third son of Spencer Compton, 2nd Earl of Northampton.

<sup>c</sup> Recorder of London, 1635-43. His daughter Mary was a Maid of Honour to Henrietta Maria, and in this year married Sir Henry Wood.

sad an effect. Prince Rupert is by this tyme set to sea ; God speed him. I wish from my hart Mr. Attorney had come away when the Prince first sent to speake with him, for he bemoanes much his not speaking with him, and I am confident his jorney hitherward upon this occasion would have beene of farr more consequence to the publick then his stay there can be. It is now to late to helpe it. I infinitely pity the poore Prince, who wanted all manner of counsell and a confident frend to reveale his mind unto. As for the booke you were informed was heere in the press, I beleeve it beares this title, "La chaine du Hercule Gaulois." As for the great magnifieing of the King, it is that he died a papist. And as to the point of the Queenes being author of his death, it is by having the glory to convert him, which he magnifies her for and exhorts her to glory in it. And this I am assured *by Dr. Cosins*, who hath read it, lent him *by Sir R. Browne*. My health truly is farr from good, yet not in extremity ; and truly for my affaires—I am least troubled for my owne share, but for my family. I was not out of hopes lately of a speedy and faire end, but I begin to despaire. I shall rely on Gods providence and goodnes, of which wee have had soe much experience. I am sorry my lott is fallen to fix where none of my entire frends are settled. I find infinit disadvantage for want of a bosome frend, for truly I may tell you wee are all badd enough in these parts, I meane lay persons in lay affaires. I pray God send us a happy meeting and a peaceble end in our owne country. I beseech you beleeve in all fortunes and places, I am, *etc.*

SIMON SMITH.

\*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO MR SMITH [LORD HATTON].

17<sup>th</sup> May, [1651].

The D. of York came hither [Hague] Friday last very late to see his sister, intending to have returned the next day to Breda or



to have gone to some other place hereabouts. But his royal sister prevailed with him to continue here with her, and I hope he will stay here untill he go for France, for which journey he attends with impatience the Queen's directions.

I presume Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer is before this on his way hither. I am sorry he is still as full of passion as he was ; I was in hope the grave nation with whom he hath lately lived so long had infused more patience into him. . . . Sir Alex. Hope, who made that violent proposition to the K. in Scotland, is newly arrived here and speaks not much of the King's good condition there. He told a confidant of [his] that he believed the King would be forced to embrace at length the counsel he gave him, which was to resign to the English rebels all his interest in England and Ireland and to accept a pension in consideration thereof.

TO THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

$\frac{9}{15}$  May.

I have seen a letter from a very good hand from England, dated  $\frac{5}{15}$  May, which came thence since the post, that tells me all the Cavaliers and many Presbyterians in the West are committed to prison and that 15 of the chief ministers in London were on Friday last committed by the Council of State. There are now here many that plead for Mr Cooke and render him a person much injured by the reports here spread of him; and I am told that some of those that a fortnight since brought such lewd stories of Mr Cooke's large discourses, upon (it seems) better advice in these parts, do now affirm that he made no considerable discoveries at all, but that they were made by others.

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BISHOP OF DOWN.

HON<sup>ble</sup> SIR,

Your zeale to the Kings service at all times, your respects to Sir John Grenville, and the favour you shew'd unto myselfe when I was

following his busines at the Hagh, bind me to give your Honour an account of my diligence to returne hither and to deliver the letters committed unto mee, as also of what hath hapned since. I made great hast to returne and landed here the 13<sup>th</sup> of Aprill at night. On the 15<sup>th</sup> betimes in the morning there came against these isles twoe great fleets, the one of English consisting of 22 shippes besides many shallopps and long boats and bringing with them 2500 land men, the other of Dutch consisting of 13 shippes. They attempted the out Islands lying on the north side, especially that called Triscoe, on each end whereof there is a harbour. The best harbour our Governour secur'd by twoe of his best frigates and other helps that they could not enter; so they discharged infinite multitude of shott. The other harbour, where it was scarce knowne any great shipp ever ventured to come in, they gayn'd it, being of so great a bredth that it could not be defended; and so on the 17<sup>th</sup> day they lanced forth many shallopps, having a brass peice charged with case shott in the forepart, but then were so valiantly resisted that they were forced to retreat, their Admirall being shott through and through and driven to shipp his cable, one of their shallopps sunke and another so paid with small shott that she went off with twoe oares, all the rest dropping into y<sup>e</sup> water. But on the 18<sup>th</sup> day in the silence of the night, they having the oportunity of a greate calme came on againe with all their forces, and after a long debate they overpowred our men with multitudes and strength of their pikes, having the help too of seamen, both to lead them on and to drive on their reare, and so gained the place, wee having there onely 400 men, which were farre more then the Governour could well have spared. Of these sixscore and odd came off by the help of their boates, the rest being kild and taken prisoners. After this, their Generall Blake summoned this Island, offering reasonable termes of peace, if they might be accepted of in time. Our Governour presented his letter at a councill of warre, and albeit they all acknowledged the place not to be tenable with less then

2000 men and some horse (we having now not 500 able to doe duty), in regard that there are some 16 bayes of sand upon this Isle where boates may land, yet did they resolve rather to dye every man then to quitt the place. Here I confess I told them that, if these Islands could be preserved for the King with the loss of all our lives and be usefull for his service (which now this place cannot be, they having gott our best harbours and surrounded us about that we can take no more prizes), that then I should commend their resolucion to dye in His Majesties service; but since the place cannot be long maintained, in regard we have noe hopes of reliefe and that our few men will decrease daily, they being on continuall duety, and that the enemy may have fresh supplyes from land when he pleaseth, it were better upon honourable termes to quitt the place and preserve their lives to doe his Majestie service in another place. For this my advice I am reputed here a coward, yet I hope all wise men wilbe of my opinion; and so were they themselves afterwards, for by their advice our Governour yeilded unto a treaty, but upon very high termes. Mutuall hostages are sent. The Commissioners mett in an Isle that is not inhabited, but upon some formality it is now broken off, they excepting that the Governour had not given to his Commissioners so ample powre as was given to them by their Commission and refusing to stay any longer then the time limited; which was but 24 houres of such fowle weather that a new commission could not be sent in time. Now whither they will treat more or fall upon us presently we cannot tell, but I am still of the same opinion I formerly exprest, that, if the Governour can gett honourable condicions, he quitt the place, since it cannot be kept. Wee have noe hopes of reliefe, and, though it were kept, it is already made unusefull. Sir, if it would not make my letter swell too bigg, I would shew unto you at large what care the Governour has taken to preserve these Isles, what meanes he hath used, or what expence he hath bestowed to gett supplyes of men out of Ireland, out of France and Germany,

all which is now prevented by their sodaine coming upon us. And therefore I could wish, if your letters and letters from his Highness Royall could come unto him in tyme, that you would advise him by all meanes to save himselfe and those gentlemen that are with him, who are as considerable for their valour as any that ever serv'd the King. Or, if it shall please God to deliver us into their hands before any advertizement can come, I shall intreat your Honour to give creditte unto this my impartiall relacion and to assure both His Majestie and the Duke of Yorke that nothing hath bene lost here either by treachery, cowardize or neglect. Soe praying God for to bless both you and all that are ingag'd in his Majesties service I humbly take leave and am, Sir,

Your Honours most affectionate servant,

HENR. DUNENSIS.<sup>a</sup>

St. Marye's Castle in Silly,<sup>b</sup> this 13<sup>th</sup> of May, 1651.

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

\*

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

¼ May, [1651].

The Queen hath to many of my friends declared her high displeasure against me.

It is incredible to hear how all the wits and creatures of the Louvre, and principally all the Presbyterian and Hamiltonian faction here, labour to excuse Mr. Coke and to lay all the discoveries upon others. I hear that Sir Abr. Shipman<sup>c</sup> is kept in close prison and like to starve, none of his friends being permitted or not daring to send him any relief. He is doubtless a very

<sup>a</sup> Henry Leslie, Bishop of Down, 1635; translated to Meath in 1661.

<sup>b</sup> Surrendered to Adm. Blake, 23 May.

<sup>c</sup> An order for supplying him with "a convenient diet," as not being able to support himself, was made by the Council of State on 20 June (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 261). For some account of him see *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, vol. vi. p. 419.

honest man, and hath been so ever; and I am confident that it is only the Presbyterians that, to excuse Mr. Coke, lay the blame of the discoveries on that honest man.

I hear that the D. of Hamilton's creatures here endeavour to make a great friendship between him and Pr. Rupert, and that the Prince embraces it readily.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

31 May.

The D. of York hath spoken to Secretary Nicholas to go with him into France and hath sent to the Queen to send to Secretary Nicholas to attend his Highness thither; which if the Queen doth, Secretary Nicholas conceives he is obliged to wait on the D. of Yorke. But unless her Majesty shall send her pleasure for his coming Secretary Nicholas resolves to go to Wesel. And I may tell you Sir Edward Hyde doth not advise Secretary Nicholas to resolve whither to go, untill he hath spoken with him.

After I had written thus far, Mr. Pooley arrived from the King, being (I hear) sent by his Majesty expressly to congratulate the Pr. of Condé and the other Prince's liberty.

Mr. Fanshaw the K. keeps by him to help him, whereof all honest men are very glad . . . . The feud between the two great lords, Hamilton and Argyle, continues still very high . . . . It is written to me that the D. of Buckingham is wholly Argyle's. The K. is certainly very intelligent, industrious and active on all occasions and but too forward to hazard his person in any attempt against the rebels.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

7 June, N.S.

The D. hath received the Queen's letters for his repair into France.

Lord Digby is a vassal of the Louvre.

The E. of Norwich is the ablest and faithfullest person that can



be employed by the K. now to do him real service in France. But if there be any probability that the old enemy of all the K.'s interests and affairs, Card. Mazarin, shall return into France, I am very confident his Majesty shall never have any good from France, and that in such a case the Earl of Norwich will be able to do little in France for the King.

Mr. Long lives here privately and comes not at the D. of York nor keeps company with any but with the honest Lord Percy and my old servant Oudart, who is as honest as either of them.

The late dispatch which came by Mr. Pooley thro' the hands of Mr. Fanshaw doth sufficiently manifest the great influence that those at the Louvre have on his Majesty's resolutions and will I doubt be a great discouragement to honest men. I pray God it prove not as fatal to him as to his father.

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#### THE BISHOP OF DOWN.

HON<sup>ble</sup> Sir,

I ventured lately to give you a relation of our Tragedie here, and, albeit I know that letter is not yet come into your Honours hands, I shall now presume to give you the rest of the story, that joyning both letters together you may have a true and full relation of all that is past. After the first Treaty was broken off, our Governour was resolved to sacrifice himselfe and all here with him rather then to manifest so much feare as to desire a new Treatie; but it pleasd God so to dispose of things that there came from the enemy an invitacion to renew the Treatie, which he had great reason to accept of, and did it by the advice of the Councell of Warre. Nor would they have pressd it had they knowne our condicion so well as ourselves, but they were afraid to venture upon this place without more forces, which they had sent for unto the Parliament, and thought it better to gaine the place by a Treaty

then to expect the coming of these forces and to venture the hazard of a Battell. The treaty thus propounded by them was accepted, hostages mutually sent, and the Commissioners mett and sate for a whole weeke together, and at last concluded to surrender this place upon Articles more honourable and advantageous for the kings service then ever yet was granted by the Parliament unto a place which they conquerd; as will appeare unto your Honour by the sight of the articles which I hope you shall receive herewith, but, if not, I know you will have them in print before these can come into your hands. The greatest matter of debate was touching the place whither Sir John should goe and carry his soldiers. Hee much desired to goe into the Isle of Man and joyne with the Earle of Derby in His Majesties service either in England or Scotland; but that would not be granted, in regard they have a commission assoone as they have done here to goe against that place. Jerzey was mov'd, but rejected, I believe upon the like reason. The place offered and accepted of by our commissioners was the Shields by Newcastle, whither Sir John was to have a convoy for himselve and all his soldiers, untill he should goe or send unto the King to know his pleasure. But upon after consideracion Sir John, fearing that the Scotts would not admitt of his Irish soldiers, and seeing that the charge of carrying them thither and keeping them there would be extraordinary, that their returne from thence to another place without a convoy would not be safe, hee upon the Petition of his officers and soldiers tooke occasion of a mocion made by Blake for an interview to gett the articles mended, having with him the prime Officers of this place, and upon their meeting gott it effected very much for his advantage, namely that he should send his Irish soldiers into Ireland under the command of a person of trust, to recruit them there up to a Regiment of 2000, that he should send his English Cavaliers (a company of gallant gentlemen) with all his powder, ammunicion, 9 or 10 brass feild peices, besides divers peices of iron canon, unto the King with a safe

conduct. And I hope this will lett the the Scotts see that Sir John in this treaty has not driven his owne interest but His Majesties. Hee himselfe goes into Plimouth till all the articles be confirmd by Act of Parliament, which they have undertaken, and till he heares from his Majestie whither hee will accept of his Irish soldiers with such recruits as hee can gett in Ireland, or lay his commands for the disposing of them otherwayes. Admirall Blake upon the review offerd unto him to convoy them all unto Dunquerque and to mainteine them there upon his owne charges untill such time as Sir John could make his bargaine either with the King of France or Spaine, provided that Sir John would engage his honour never to employ them against the Parliament; but he hath so much zeale still to serve the King and some hopes that His Majestie will make use of him another way for his owne service that he would not accept of that proffer, so very advantageous unto him if he had respected his owne interests onely. Sir, I assure your Honour this is a true and impartiall relacion which I shall beseech you to make knowne unto his Majestie and that you will give me leave in the preclose to put in a word for myselfe. I am by the articles to have my pass to goe unto the North of Ireland, that is to say, out of the frying pan into the fire; for there I shalbe in more danger of the Scotts then of the Parliaments soldiers. And therefore I beseech your Honour, who hath alwayes bene my noble freind, to move his Majestie by your letters to write unto the Lord Montgomery for to protect me from the violence of the Scotts, or els to give me leave to live in a Parliament guarrison for mine owne safety, where I am sure my soule shalbe more vexed then ever Lotts was in Scdome. And for this I shall ever pray God to bless your Honour and all that are faithfull to his Majestie; and soe I humbly take leave and rest

Your most affectionate servant,

HENR. DUNENSIS.

St. Maryes in Silly, the 29th of May, 1651.

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SIR GEORGE CARTERET.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

You have heard of *Lord Jermins*<sup>a</sup> coming to this place. Now I shall give you an account of his *Lordships* proceedinge in that journey. He came hether in hope to find a generall discontent of the people against me, and so by that meanes to take the opportunity to reward my service by turning me out of all; and his cheif informer *Josue Carteret*, whome he had entertained at *Paris* for many weekes together, was sent hither a fortnight before to prepare all things against his *Lordships* coming. My good lord being arrived here, with *Sir John Barkley* and fower or five other gentlemen and all his servants with no lesse then *twoe* cookes, he begon to keepe house, having brought his plate and all things fittinge for that purpose. All my officers are often invited and exceedinge much courted when I was out of sight and mony given to some of them in great prevacy. The islanders are also courted and invited, but noone comes neere the castle or *Lord Jermyn* but when I was present, and at one or two meeting the Justice and the cheife of the Island tooke occasion in *Lord Jermins* presence to praise my government and conduct amongst them, which was not at all a pleasing discourse. Some marchands of this Island happeing to be at *Paris* when *Josue Carteret* was there reported that he had given out at the *Louver* and at divers other places in *Paris* that the people heere were so weary of my government that they had sent to my *Lord Jermyn* to send them another Lieutenant Governour. For that and some other foolish reports which he had made he was called before the Justice, where my *Lord Jermyn* did desire to be present. The thinge being verified and many other crimes alledged against him by the Kings Attorney and advocat, he was comitted, notwithstanding that *Lórd Jermin* most shamefully did indeaver to paliat

<sup>a</sup> He had succeeded his father, *Sir Thomas Jermyn*, as Governor of *Jersey*, on a patent in reversion, in 1645.



*his offence or at lest to get him under baile, but the justice would not grant it. From that wery hower his Lordshipp did perceave that he went upon ill groundes and that nothinge was to be attempted against me in this place. Therefore he begon to make wery much of Sir G. Carteret. He beggs me to further the execusion of the Kings comission for the sale of 200 pistolls of the Kings lands here, because he had a desire to returne to Paris where the Kings service did calle upon him (when the day before he told me that he intended not to leave this place in six months!) He offers to sell me this gouvernement, and in case I would not buy it he must sell it to another, who had offered him a considerable sum of money (as he said) for it. I told him I had noe money nor credit, but what I had employ'd to put in a small proportion of provisions into the castles, which I did hope would be permitted me to take out or to have an allowance in reddey mony for it; and then, if the King and his Lordshipp did please to comand me to leave the place I would readely obey. Whereupon he did aske me how in such a case Sir Geo. Carteret did intent to dispose of himselfe. I told him that, without goeing to the Kinge or a protection from the French Kinge for to live in that kingdome without molestation of my creditors, my remoovall from hence could not be but in a goale, there to remaine untill the King were able and willinge to discharge those debts which I have contracted for his service. To that he said little, but great indeaver are made to make monny of the lands, butt all to little purposse, for the inhabitants are displeased at it and will not buy. In three weekes tyme there were sold but ten pistols a yeare, and yet part of it was upon credit. At last he grue impatient and weary, which made him to thinke upon a nother course, which was to take the lands in his owne name from Sir John Barkly and Cowly the two commissioners and to appoint attórneys to sell it as they could in his absence, which was donne accordingly, and so make himself ready to be gon after he had made two propossitions unto me. The first was*



to put over unto me one halfe of this government, if I could procure him (in six moneths tyme) two thousand pistolls for one halfe of the land[s] which were to be sold, and to take uppon me the charge of the Island as before; which consideringe he gave me to procure him that summe, and in hope not to be continually wexed by him I did condesent unto it, but upon this condition likewise that, when the Duke of Yorke would be pleased to it, that we should resaine it unto him. And then within a day or two he came to me with another proposition (which was that which he minded to doe and no other), which he begins with a question: "If the King comandes you to deliver at Michelmase next the castle to some parson apointed by his Majestie, would you doe it?" I could not say noe. "Then," said he, "if you condecend to this, you shall have one thousand pistolls for the expences which you will be at this sumer (which, by his good leave, will amount to much more) and a thousand besides." Who this marchant is, I knowe not; but I am certaine he intends to sell it, and Mr. Ranfort, who stayed at Paris for his returne to goe to Scotland, will carry the dispatches to that purposse. If the King doth condecend unto it, he will indanger the losse of his Island, for this people will hardly induere to be solld to and againe as slaves for the reward of their faithfull service to the Kinge; and, if it were not for my persuasion, they would not have suffered so much as they have don aready in that kinde. Therefore I beseech you both for the King and this loyall people sake to write unto his Majestie to consider well before he consents to any alteration to be made in this place and government, and at lesse that he will not doe it without their consent, which I supposse his Majestie can doe no lesse to a people that deserves so well of him. Pray presse it home to the King, who is in danger to loose his interest here otherwise. The comission for the sale of the 200 pistols a yeare was to this effect, that the monny should be payd into [the] hands of Mr. Cowly, whereof he was to pay 2000 pound to Lord Jermyn for his interest in the said lands; the rest of the monny was to be

employed for the providinge of the castles and defence of the island after that such monys were paid out of it as the King had given warrant for, which for all any body knowes is for much more then the land can be sold and therefore nothinge left for the defence of the island. I saw a warrant from the King to paye three hundred pistolls of that money to Mr. Long and the two Commissioners were to have a fleece out of it. I am sure that Lord Jermyn could not come in a worse tyme then now to sell land here, when every hower wee do expect an ennemy; and indeed it has discoredged wery much all the people, who did not stecke to say that being the King did sell his land it was high tyme for them to shift for themselves, and a number of people sent all their goods out of the island. Pray tell me, did not his good lordshipp well deserve to have had an affront put upon him, beinge that he came with an intent to play me one? which I have forborne for this tyme, but let him have a care not to make the like attempt againe for feare of worse entertainment. He told me that he was to be Secretary of State, but that nether Sec. Nicholas, Lord Digby, Mr. Long nor Mr. Hollis will come in. I beleeeve he will not adventure for Scotland this summer. Now I must begg your pardon for troublinge you so longe, and desire you to belive that I am

Your most humble and most obliged servant,

MILTON.

$\frac{9}{15}$  June, 1651.

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SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

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TO MR. RICH. HARDING.

From Antwerp,  $\frac{4}{14}$  July, [1651].

The D. of York went in the beginning of the last month for France, whither I had a great desire to have waited on his Highness; but, finding the Queen had to very many of my friends (and particularly to Mr. H. Seymour) expressed her Majesty's being very unsatisfied

with me (upon the old business which you heard of at Beauvois), the D. was pleased to dispense with my attendance. I hope his Majesty will not conceive the worse of me for being faithful to those that trusted me and for keeping inviolably my promise made by his Majesty's privity and directions. I am yet uncertain where I shall fix my winter station, and pray that it may be peaceably in England.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

From Antwerp,  $\frac{4}{14}$  July.

I assure you I am not of their mind that think the Louvre Counsels justifiable or excusable in many other particulars besides the hindering the King's journey into Ireland.

What say you to the business in the Downs? to the not attempting, when it was probably in their power who ruled all, to rescue the best of Kings, our blessed master, out of prison? to the not enterprising the relief of Colchester? What say you to the message sent the 12<sup>th</sup> of May, 1647,<sup>a</sup> the source of the worst of our late master's sufferings? the educating of the Princess Henrietta in the Popish religion? and very many the like unskilful advices, to say no worse of them?

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

SIR,

Caen, 3 August, 1651.

. . . . I doe not finde that the Duke of Loraine hath yet sent away any succors for Ireland, or soe much as notice that hee is prepareing for it. I doubt that as their ill condition there gives him ground to pawse, soe his pawseing will give them ground to compound for what is left, and soe hee must sit downe with the losse of 20,000<sup>l</sup> and they with the state of perfect slavery, the

<sup>a</sup> By Charles I. to the two Houses of Parliament from Holmby. See *Lords Journals*, ix. p. 193.

frequent lot of such as affect imoderate power upon weake foundations. The remaining consolation is that, if the King recover England, Ireland will soone follow, without which, if hee had it againe soe peopled as it was, it would bee lost. Prince Ruperts haveing taken prizes of a good value, if they bee good prizes, is confirmed out of Spaine; it is suposed hee hath caryed them into Lisbone. The letter wherof you were pleased to send mee an extract makes the Kings condition to mee more cheerfull then anything I have heard thence, because I finde his disposition and reflections upon it soe melancholy that I can assure myself of all hee makes good and have hope hee may bee mistaken in his feares, as I know hee wishes to bee . . . .

Your most affectionate humble servant,

ORMONDE.

WILL. EDMAN.

RIGHT HONOR<sup>ble</sup>,

. . . Having this day had some discourse with Mr. Long (who is come thus farr to accompany Doctor Frazer) wherein your honours name was mencioned, though with reflection upon another person, I would not omitt the opportunity it gave me of presenting my most humble service to your honour and of informing you what it was that fell from him. Taking an occasion to speake of Mr. Oudart, he told me that when he came from Mr. Secretary Nicholas to him he understood the way of buisnesse the least that ever he knew any man that had been soe long trayned up in it; but after he had been some time with him, he fell into a very competent knowledge of it, but that yet he will committ errors sometimes, and he wondred how he could goe through with the Princesse Royalles buisnesse, having now noe body to oversee him. Yet he

said he was very good at Latine buisnesse and was a very honest man. I suppose he spoke this more to magnifye himselfe then to discover any disability in the other . . . .

Your Honours most humble and most obedient servant,

W. EDMAN.

Amsterdam, 3 Aug. 1651.

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SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

\*

TO MR SMITH [LORD HATTON]. From Antwerp,  $\frac{1}{11}$  August, [1651].

I marvel that the D. of York doth not himself press the Queen Regent for a room to be allowed him for the exercise of his religion, which surely, I think, he should do, tho' he were sure to be refused it, as I am confident he would not be, if himself appeared personally and zealous in it. I doubt his Highness's silence therein will be interpreted a coldness in his religion, rather than a modesty of nature.

TO MR SMITH [LORD HATTON]. From Antwerp,  $\frac{1}{3}$  August.

We have it here from several very good hands from London and other parts that, Cromwell being gone with all his army and carriages into Fife, the K. in the head of 12,500 men effective is march'd into England, and that he was on Tuesday was se'nnight as far advanced as Carlisle, as Cromwell himself saith in his letter read in the House at Westminster yesterday was se'nnight; which hath given those at London a notable alarm, there being no forces of the rebels between Carlisle and London to hinder his Majesty's march, for Harrison's forces were joined with Cromwell's body. And if the rebels shall pursue the K., yet he being 10 days' march before them, and there being about 20,000 Scots left to attend Cromwell, he will have but a slow and unsafe task to follow the K., who (I hope), when he comes into England, will have all the



country join with him . . . . Upon this news those at Westminster recalled some of Baxter's regiment (which were shipt for Scotland) back to London, there being no other forces at that time in or near that city but a part of that Colonel's regiment.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

1 September, N.S.

Your favour of the  $\frac{1}{2}\frac{6}{8}$  of the last month is very welcome to me, bringing me the news that the D. of York, with the advice of the Marquis of Ormonde and Mr Attorney, was resolved to press the Queen Regent for a place for the exercise of his religion in the Louvre.

If our friends in England shall not stir now they see his Majesty hath with so much prudence and courage put himself into so much danger for freeing them from the tyranny and oppression they are under, they will deserve to be perpetual slaves to their fellow subjects and to the scum of the people.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

3 September, N.S.

We have here notice that Lord Gerard and Mr Attorney have made their peace with the Queen, some say by Lord Jermyn's means, and are both, especially the latter, very much in her Majesty's confidence; whereof I am very glad, tho' her Majesty saith she cannot, will not trust me.

I presume now the K. is so far advanced, that the Queen will shortly hear from or send some such faithful man as Sir John Berkeley to him.

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

SIR,

Caen, 14 Sep., 1651.

. . . . It is true that not only his Highnesse but many that were then about him have often wished it might lye in His Highnesse

CAMD. SOC.

2 M

power to send you such an invitation as might bring you to him and keepe you by him with your satisfaction and convenience, and in that number I was and am. But I should not have neglected your contentment through that desire, if there were noe other impediment then the want of expresse directions from the King or that other concerning the Queene. I confesse I should prefferr the reall advantage you would bee of to their service before those usuall formallitys heretofore used, but now, as I thinke, to be much layd aside. Besides I know, and soe doe you I thinke, that it was his Majesties at least desire that you should bee encouraged to attend the Duke and that, if I mistake not, at the same time and in the same instructions whereby others were inhibited, it was used to bee a rule that there should bee noe picking and chuseing of partes of directions but they were and ought to bee entirely pursued and, if all things els were cleere to your satisfaction, the want of observeing soe necessary a rule should not stand betweext the Kings busines and your ability to advaunce it, now that it seemes to mee as much as ever to require it and that without expection all men are admitted, nay invited, to promote it. I will not deny but that my desire of your company and assistance in case I shall bee againe calld to Paris may have a share in my wishes; yet neither that nor anything els shall make mee thwart to your inclinations or neglect to serve you in your owne method, which if I had bin at Paris would have made mee against positive comands to bring you thither without consideration of your private condition, and, if I shall bee there before any such bee sent you, I shall, if I can, prevent it. Wee have nothing out of England but from the Rebells or from very passionat friends. The first I thinke begin to finde it necessary to resume the foundation of their state, lyeing; and the later I doubt give us good wishes for good events. I could not hould pace with them in my beleef that brought the King neare London, but am content to compound betweext them and the Rebells, placing him in Worcester and upon the Marches of

Wales endeavouring to seate himself soe as to receive assistances and to bee out of danger of fighting at the will of his enemy, which if hee compasse, wee may hope for such naturall advaunces as God usually gives to soe great a worke as that I trust hee is doing for our King and us. If the print say true of the Rebells advaunce toward the King, you will heare of action before this comes to your hands; for, though batells are I thinke to bee avoyded, round encounters cannot without quitting the cause. God prosper him.

Your most affectionate humble servant,

ORMONDE.

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

\*

To MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON]. From Antwerp,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Sept. [1651].

We have several letters here that say the last week's London prints are altogether false; and that for certain the K. went two days before the late fight near Worcester towards Hereford with the greatest part of his army; and that it was only the forces that his Majesty left in and about that city which made that fight against Fleetwood; that it is believed by most knowing men in England that the King's forces had the better of it, for that they keep still that city. But it seems the rebels find it requisite to resume the foundation of their State, lying; and I am glad they are brought to such a necessity for the support of their credit with the abused people in England.

To MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].  $\frac{1}{9}$  September.

Yours of the  $\frac{1}{2}$  present found me here in a doleful condition upon the news of the K.'s being totally defeated<sup>a</sup> and his person in so very great danger.

<sup>a</sup> At Worcester, on 3 Sept.

It is doubtless an abominable shame and dishonour to all our nation that the K. should with so great peril and hazard bring into the midst of the kingdom so great an army and that so few English should rise to assist him or to divert the rebels. Albeit the presbyterians had most encouragement to rise, yet the royalists were in duty no less obliged; and even in policy, as well for their own preservation as for the restoration of his Majesty, they ought to have taken arms in his Majesty's assistance in so gallant an enterprise.

.It is to the soldiery here a very riddle, I perceive, that 12,000 men should be taken prisoners in a fortified town, if there were not some great treachery or unpardonable cowardice in it.

It is conceived that upon this glorious victory Cromwell and his masters will become less rigorous than formerly to those that are under their subjection. And if they do so, it is believed all men will come in and submit to them. I know some men of good condition in the Low Countries that intend to go now over and make their peace, if they may be permitted upon good security to live quietly without having any oaths imposed upon them. I pray favour me with your advice what course you would have me to take, who, by my long attendance and with even insupportable contempt, have wasted myself and my poor fortune even to the last.

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LORD HOPTON.

SIR,

I received yours from Antwerp of Sept.  $\frac{17}{27}$  but the last night. I perceive you had then the sad newes of our fatal overthrow at Worcester. And concerning what was considered between me and Lo. Culpeper, truly it was nothing at all; but I writ clearly my opinion in my last to my Lo. Ambassador, and it is that *in this sad conjuncture*, where little *hope is left of suddaine employment and*

where the King cannot be consulted by us in the tyme of our danger, which is the end of this moneth, I will endeavour as warely as I can to save something of my estate and wish you and Sir Ed. Hide would doe soe too, and to that end send over one of your sonnes not staying for a pass, for I suppose neither of them having bene in armes they run noe danger, and I wish yourself were here that wee might consult with more freedome then by letters. This advice comes to me severall wayes from London, Paris and here among ourselves, and indeed the state of the question consists shortly in this, on one hand we shall in a severe way ruin ourselves, weaken the King and profit his ennemys, on the other in a more doubtfull way just the contrary, and though this was true in the first compounders yet then it trayned after it an ill consequence which really now is not. . . .

Your very affectionat servant,

R. H.

Utrecht, Oct. 4, new stile, 1651.

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SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

Your favour of the  $\frac{2}{19}$  Sep<sup>r</sup><sup>a</sup> (for which I render humble thankes) came safe to my hands in its due time, and honest Percy Church hath undertaken the conveyance of your inclosed to St. Malo's, where he hath good credit by meanes of the English Benedictines. I doe with much gratitude acknowledge your singular favour in the full satisfaction of my request concerninge the Kinges carriage in the point of Mon<sup>r</sup> Herraults papers, and I doubt not butt Mr. Deane Cousins (whom I have nott yett seene) will bee very well pleased to reade it. Hee is the person I desired should thus mani-

<sup>a</sup>. The letter from "John ap Griffith," printed in Bell's *Mem. of the Civil War*, ii. p. 125. The subject is further elucidated in a "Relation touching the calumnies of Lord Hatton [the "backbitinge lipps" referred to below] against Sir Richard Browne," imputing to him Presbyterian leanings (*Ibid.* p. 305). For the answer of Nicholas to the present letter see Bell, p. 129.



festly see that this, as well as many more the like uncharitable calumnies proceedinge from the same backbitinge lipps, are noe other then arrant lyes, suggested by a diabollicall, malicious whisperinge spiritt, which thought it could nott doe mee a greater injury then to make mee guilty of a degree of Presbytery, which in the bottome of my heart I have allwayes detested and doe still seriously abhorre as much as hee himselve or any person livinge. I cannott butt wonder at the folly of this unworthy mans envie and malice that should thus call our Royall Maister to bee, as it were, a wittnesse of his grosse untruths. Butt the Divell useth commonly in this manner at last to shame his clyents. I now beginne to bee more and more confirmed in my former suspicion that it hath beene much uppon this score of presbytery that Maister Attorney Herbert and his Lady have beene (by that whisperinge calumniator who hath of late tyrannized their eares) alienated from us. Wherefore yf your Honour would (in continuance of this your noble and generous kindnesse to mee) take some occasion the next time you write to Mr. Attorney to lett him know that by all that I did in the transmittinge of Mons<sup>r</sup> de Fontaine's proposition<sup>a</sup> to you I appeared to bee noe other than purely instrumentall, without declaringe any the least inclination to that or any other overture of that nature, your Honour will doe mee an extraordinary pleasure; or els (yf you thinke it better) to bee pleased to write such a letter to this purpose to Mr. Deane Cousins as may vindicate what your owne conscience knowes to bee truth concerninge mee in this particular, beseechinge you that, when you vouchsafe mee eyther the one or the other of these favours or both, you will eyther send the letter unsealed thorough my hands or else convey to mee the true copie of what you thus write at my intreaty. Was ever any logick more unconsequentiall, untrue or

<sup>a</sup> The same probably which is referred to in "Consideracions upon Mr. Fountaines propositions to his Majestie for an acomodacion between episcopacy and presbitery," Feb. 1650 (Egert. MS. 2534, f. 110).

uncharitable then to conclude because I allways carried myselfe externally civill to those of Charanton<sup>a</sup> onely in conformity to the practise and example of my predecessors and in order to his Majesties service and was contented upon this late occasion in this conjuncture to lend my hands to the conveyance of a proposition (recommended by prime persons of the Kinges party in England) into yours, where I was sure it should never doe harme, that therefore my heart approved of Presbyterian fundamentalls and assented to their covenantinge proceedinges? Noe! Monsieur de Fontane himselfe shall justifie that I allways constantly told him that, yf eyther the takinge the covenant or abolishinge the function of episcopacy were any ingredients of his demands, hee might assure himselfe a positive refusall before hee made them, any distinctions limitations or restrictions to the contrary whatsoever. Excuse mee, I beseech your Honour, that my zeale doth thus farre trespassse uppon your goodnesse and patience in the wiping off this ougly staine, nott of my reputation onely, butt my conscience. I am sorry to find your Honours intentions to remove farther off and more troubled at the ground and occasion. I pray bee assured that my devoted service and well wishes shall attend you wherever you goe and find you wherever you fix. The Countess of Morton<sup>b</sup> hath had a shrewd alarme to the dismission shee is to expect, wheroff I presume shee will hirsselfe write at large to my Lord Ambassador. And possibly the Queenes comming this day to dine at the Louvre will give occasion to some farther declaration concerninge the Princesse hir retreat into y<sup>e</sup> monastery. Sir H. de Vic speakes of

<sup>a</sup> The headquarters of the French Huguenots. "Sunday the 6th [Mar. 1644], I went to Charenton, two leagues from Paris, to hear and see the manner of the French Protestant Church service" (Evelyn's *Diary*, i. p. 57).

<sup>b</sup> Anne, widow of William Douglas, 7th Earl of Morton, who died in 1648. She had been governess to Henrietta youngest daughter of Charles I. since her birth at Exeter in 1644 (being then known as Lady Dalkeith), and had escaped with her charge to France in July, 1646.

goinge to Jersey before hee returne to Flanders. The Lady Carteret is nott yett come out of the Island. Cap<sup>n</sup> Tom Cooke is come backe, butt nott the Doctor. Lord Inchequin is here, and soe is Captain Meade. Earle of Norwich goes abroad againe. Mr. Attorney and his famely removed to a faire house of 110 pistols a yeare beyond Luxembourg, neere the Charterhouse in which the Earle of Worster formerly lived. . . .

Your honours most faithfull and most humble servant,

Q N.

Paris, 7 Oct. 1651.

*Endorsed by Nicholas : Sir. Ri. Browne to me, etc.*

SIR GEORGE RADCLIFFE.

Rt. Ho.

. . . . I am very unable to advise you, who want advise myselfe. If the Kinges person be safe (as wee hope it is, and, as wee are made to thinke, he may possibly be with his sister), he cannot be without you. If you be with him and but two or three more honest discreet men, who may trust one another and wilbe trusted by the Kinges friendes, I doe not thinke but that there is life in his affaires. But, if he take counsell of men suspected and such as goe not on honorable principles, I cannot see what hopes wee have. For my owne part, I neglected myne estate and should willingly have exposed it to utter losse and ruine, so longe as either y<sup>e</sup> Kinge thought I might be usefull to him, as he seemed to me to thinke, or that I saw any hopes to doe him any service. And truely I should advise you to doe the same and rely on Gods providence, which will never faile those that serve him. Not that I thinke y<sup>t</sup> the service of y<sup>e</sup> Kinge would ever be worth to me so much land of inheritance as I hazarded for it, much lesse can I now promise the like to you proportionable to your adventure. But the testimony of a good conscience, that you or I

have done our dueties, and what wee loose wee should loose for that respect, I believe you value with me above any worldly respect whatsoever. I beseech God send the Kinge men that will serve him upon these groundes. Now you know in what condition I am. After all my service and my sufferinges, uppon the private whisper of a malicious groundlesse lye, cast offe, disgraced and y<sup>t</sup> unheard, so as I conceive myselfe not onely discharged in point of honor and conscience from offeringe my service any further, but necessitated to provide for my poore ruined family, the destruction of which is all the thanks I have gotten for y<sup>e</sup> employment, troubles, losses and hazards of the best part of my whole life. I shall pray heartily for y<sup>e</sup> Kinge and all the Royale family; from myne affectionate duety and loyalty no ill usage can disoblige me. But I will take the best course I can for my selfe, justly and fairely. And to that purpose I have sent for an honest man to meet me at Calais, for these businesses cannot be done by letters, and there I will advise and direct the best course I can, to get somethinge out of myne owne estate whereby to get bread for my wife and sonne, whom I have undone by the courses I have taken these last 3 yeares. Methinkes it will not be unprobable but that our new maisters y<sup>e</sup> Republicans beinge now out of feare should thinke of wayes to sweeten their governement and to allure men whom hitherto they have frighted into their subjection. If by this meanes I can make the one halfe of myne estate secure to me the other, I shall thinke to live more contentedly (for worldly supplye) then any thinge which I could reasonably have expected from the Court could have afforded me. And truely when this is done, I am so farre from beinge any wayes dissordered by my usage, as that upon a good occasion the Kinge shall command my life and all I have, whatever it be, more or lesse. But I shall desire never to be a courtier, nor have any publike employment. If you shall finde reason to withdraw yourselfe (which I pray God for y<sup>e</sup> Kinges sake you may not doe), but if you doe, why should not you come to Calais or



Bulloigne for a moneth or two, and there, havinge ordered our busines, if it succeed, we may retreit to Gallion<sup>a</sup> or some other quiet private cheape place, and there weare out a yeare or two (if God send life) expectinge either better dayes or a better world? This I propose, as that which I should count a great contentment to me, if I should be so happy to enjoy such company. The Deane of the Chappel would willingly live with us, and either he or some other wilbe had to helpe us to serve God after our old English manner. Thinke on it, I pray you, and, if it suit not with your opinion or resolution, yet let me have your pardon for moveinge it. Mr Fanshaw, I heare, will escape this danger. Yet I am confident he is honest and will prove so. My Lord of Cleveland<sup>b</sup> is in great danger. If Mr Longe had such a letter of invitation by Mr Pooley (which I doe not believe), I doe not envy him the honor of it; but I can ghesse what y<sup>e</sup> successe may be. I am a great stranger to y<sup>e</sup> Duke's counsell, and know not what kept him from goeing with the Kinge to Fountain-belleau, and so on. They say it was to expect here to heare where the Kinge of England was, and withall he had no money at all, nor could he goe without it. His servants may lessen themselves their owne number, for there is no money for y<sup>e</sup> most of them. Wee expected a great lesseninge of the Queenes family at the Louvre, but now it seemes there is no feare of it. Onely the Queene meanes to take the Princesse Henriette into y<sup>e</sup> monastery, and then the D. of Yorke must pay for his owne dyet, as he does allready in part; for his breakefastes, fire and candle has bene taken from him these two moneths or thereabouts. My lady governess is now discharged of her government, as well as I was when the Duke came out of England; her Ladyship knowes best by whose meanes. The Deane saw your letter and bids me returne his most humble thankes and service to

<sup>a</sup> Probably Gaillon, in the Eure, between Evreux and the Seine.

<sup>b</sup> Thomas Wentworth, succ. as 4th Baron Wentworth in 1597, and cr. Earl of Cleveland in 1625.



you. I found him newly come out of a fitt of an ague, but so well as he hoped to heare no more of it. My Lord of Strafford<sup>a</sup> is your most affectionate friend and servant. The newes of y<sup>e</sup> cardinalls beinge killed it seemes was cast abroad on purpose, but there is no more of it. If you heare any thinge of y<sup>e</sup> Kinge, be pleased to communicate it. I had allmost forgot to tell you that here is a report which I have mett withall in three severall places, and all of them knowinge men, y<sup>t</sup> I am very gracious with the Queene. I have presented myselfe twice to Her Majestie, when shee came occasionally to y<sup>e</sup> Louvre, but I never went to y<sup>e</sup> monastery, as many doe, nor did I speake one worde to her since my first audience. Some say that she sayeth she had rather have me about y<sup>e</sup> Duke then any that is with him. This I believe not, nor can I ghesse whence it comes, or what the meaninge of it is. Others give out that I am at least a great favourer of papists, and they are not much amisse in that (though it seemes to be urged with some sharpnes against me), for I would have peace with all Christians; yet I am no greater an adorer of Pope or Councell of Trent then they that seeme more averse from them. I cannot tell you the precise words which you desire to know. The substance was that, if you came, one house would be too little to hold the mother and the sonne. You wilbe pleased to burne my letters, and to pardon this length. My service to your sonnes.

Your honours most humble servant,

DE COULTON.

8bris 14<sup>th</sup>, 1651.

*Endorsed by Nicholas: Sir G. Ratcliffe.<sup>b</sup>*

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<sup>a</sup> William Wentworth, 2nd Earl of Strafford, rest. by patent, 1 Dec. 1641.

<sup>b</sup> He is described in the Confiscation Act, 1651, cap. 10, as "late of Colton, in the co. of the City of York" (Peacock, p. 1).

## MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

SIR,

Caen, 19 Octo., 1651.

The Kings misfortune and the uncertainty of his personall safty renders mee soe confused in all my facultys that I am at this time espetially most incapable of giving any advice; yet being called upon by you, to whome I have soe perfect a friendship, I shall the best I can compose and adresse myself to it, and because you have eminently adhered to the crowne in the persons of two admireable kings I shall not (how low and desperatly soever it seemes fallen) leave that out of the argument. All imaginable tryalls for the recovery of y<sup>e</sup> royall interest have bin made and failed; there remains to hope for but ether a devision amongst the Rebells or some such mireacle as the Peace of Christendome and then their ellection of the English Rebells as a comon enemy even before the Turck. Both these to us seeme like drowsy speculations; but Hee that for our sins hath covered us with this confusion is able in a moment to bring greater things by lesse probable meanes to passe, and his not blesseing all our endeavours in soe just a cause I would faine understand to bee a comand to stand still and see the salvation Hee will worke for us. Hee hath raised the Rebells to the top of successe; if that produce pride and oppression in them, it will not bee madnes to expect their speedy fall. Two things it will bee fit to expect before a possitive resolution bee taken to goe quite out of the way of busines, the kings escape or falling into their hands, and what the Rebells will offer to perswade men to retire to their owne. By the first of these men may doe it with the beter grace, and by the later they will see how conveniently honestly and securely. These for the present are only offerred to you as conceptions of mine ministring occation for your beter judgement to discours upon, and soe I remaine

Your most affectionate humble servant,

ORMONDE.

*Endorsed by Nicholas: Lo. Marq. of Ormond*  
his prudent advise to me.

\*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO MR. SMITH (LORD HATTON). From Antwerp, 6 Octob., N.S. [1651].

I hear the Queen hath several times of late to several persons expressed her high displeasure against me, which makes me the rather begin now to consider how I may honestly get some of my estate in England, which truly I shall endeavour, if I may do it honestly and without violating my conscience.

TO MR. H. SEYMOUR.

From Antwerp, 6 Octob., N. S.

. . . It is time for me now at length to begin to consider (as others more prudent have done) how I may honestly get some of my poor estate to support me and my poor family from starving. To this end I shall this next week remove from hence, first to Rotterdam and the Hague to advise with some friends in those parts and so proceed afterwards as God in his merciful providence shall direct me, my own conscience bearing me witness that I have sincerely laboured to perform my duty to his Majesty as far as I have been possibly able.

Albeit I have now forbidden most of my friends to write any more (being not able indeed any longer to undergo the charge of holding correspondence with them), yet I shall be much obliged to you if I may sometimes hear from you.

TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

1<sup>st</sup>/<sub>2</sub> Octob.

The D. of Buckingham came on Sunday night last to Rotterdam, having in his company only Mr. Leighton and one other. His Grace has not yet discovered himself to any but his confidants, whereof for your sake I am none ; yet, as soon as he will be seen, I intend to wait upon him.

TO MARQ. OF ORMONDE.

From Rotterdam,  $\frac{18}{8}$  Octob.

D. of Buckingham . . . says the K. is secure, but whether in France, Flanders or Holland he cannot or will not tell.

The D. and all the Presbyterian gang in these parts are still very eager that, when the K. appears, he should walk intirely in the same steps of presbytery as formerly, as well in the exercise of his devotion as in all his negotiations. And truly it is not easy to advise what course his Majesty (when he makes himself known) should take . . . I am clearly of your Excellency's judgment that he should now stand still in some very private retirement, expecting the salvation that God will work for him and his, all imaginable tryals for the recovery of the royal interest having been made and failed.

TO SIR E. HYDE.

From the Hague,  $\frac{31}{1}$  Octob.

There are abundance of Royalists gone for England from these parts and many more are going, as having little hopes left them, seeing they hear his Majesty intends to make use of the Louvre counsels. Mr Fanshaw writes to me that Mr Long hath a patent to be one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, which is very small encouragement to look any more after any business.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

2 Novem., N. S.

They here would do something to curb the insolency of the usurpers in England, were not France by the Prince of Condé's misbehaviour (to speak gently of it, because he pretends to be very affectionate to our master) so very much imbroiled with intestine divisions.

I wish the K. had some confident among these States, but I doubt he and those wise men at the Louvre rely solely on Hen-fleete, who hath neither brains nor credit to do any thing among the leading men here, who hold him a covetous wretch, if not worse.

## MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

Caen, 2 9<sup>br</sup>, 1651.

SIR,

The King being by an eminent and high providence escaped the bloody hands of the Rebels is arived at Paris, as from thence you will have heard before you can receive this leter of mine. The severall dangers hee hath bin in and the shapes hee hath varied are not particularly written to mee, but they are sayd to bee soe many that the miracle of his comeing of gives us strong hopes that God hath reserved him to doe great things by him and for him. Wee heare of others landed in Holland whoe were taken to bee the King and some of his servants; the later I hope it is, and wish particularly it were the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Wentworth<sup>a</sup> and Mr O'Neill, of whome wee doe not heare. To-morrow I begin my jurney to waite upon his Majestie, the pleasure of whoes presence only can recompence for the sadnes of his condition. How long I shall stay there or how get backe againe I rather comit to fortune then I will deny myself the contentment of kissing his hand . . . .

Your most affectionate humble servant,

ORMONDE.

## LORD GERARD.

Paris, 9<sup>ber</sup> the 4, [1651].

DEARE SIR,

Thoe you thought to leave the world and that the company of your frends could not prevaile uppon you, yet the affection of the King your master is strong enough to conjeure your return to him and to that purpos has commanded H. Seamer to signefy it to you.

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Wentworth, eldest son of the Earl of Cleveland, called to the Upper House in his father's Barony of Wentworth in 1640.



I could wish you had a litle of my ingredient to speed you the faster, but when the King has not been so carfull of any other of his servants exsepting my Lord Hide, my thinks it should maike you move nimbly. The great advantaegis I should receyve myselfe by it hinders mee too expres the great benefitt both the King and the publik will receyve in it and I hope my modesty shall not maike them soffer nor you.

Your most affectionat humble servant,

CHA. GERARD.

The King is strangely admierd and visited and offerd great somes both by the coajutor, Monbreun, and many others.

Hast, hast, post haste.

\*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

7 Nov. N.S. [1651].

Mr R. Fanshaw<sup>a</sup> [is] a close prisoner in England.

Qu. of Bohemia sends Sir E. Nicholas word that there is newly come unto her from the Princess Royall to advertise her Majesty that her Highness hath by an express from France received a letter from the King, who, mirac[ul]ously escaping out of England to Dieppe, was come safe to Paris.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

Hague, 10 Nov., N.S.

That your Ldp. and myself are (by the K.'s order delivered to H. Seymour) commanded to wait on him at Paris is not only signified to me by my Lord Gerard, but intimated by Lord Hatton; that then the K. had not expressed (as is written to me) so much care of any other of his servants, which his Ldp. saith ought to make us make the more hast to his Majesty.

<sup>a</sup> He was sent to the Tower on 13 Sept., but released on bail, "being certified to be in a deep scorbutic," on 28 Nov. (*Cal. St. Papers*).

My greatest difficulty will be how to get means to bear the vast charge of the journey.

TO LORD EMBASSADOR HYDE.

4 Decem. N.S.

The same night after I had sent your Ldp. my 16<sup>th</sup> [of the 2<sup>d</sup> of Decemb. N.S.] I fell very ill again of a looseness and am thereby and by my former sickness grown so weak and tender as I am not able to indure the air, so as I am now out of hope to be able to go for France this winter.

TO MR. H. SEYMOUR.

$\frac{2}{13}$  Decemb.

We hear that those in England have sent propositions to the Prince of Condé and that, if he embrace them, they will by the spring send over a great army into France to his assistance.

TO MARQ. OF ORMONDE.

$\frac{2}{13}$  Decemb.

Recommending to him the Lord Ambassador Hyde.

I have for these many years observed in no Minister of State that hath been employed in his Majesty's or his blessed father's time greater integrity and ability, nor that hath gone on better maxims of religion and policy.

TO THE E. OF NORWICH.

$\frac{2}{13}$  Decemb.

Since there hath been at the Louvre so much imprudent discourse of a marriage between the K. and Mademoiselle,<sup>a</sup> which I believe the French K. and Council of France will never consent unto, and then it will be an empty cloud, I presume, if it proceed not, the King will not stay long in France, if he might.

I am told that Mademoiselle de Longueville<sup>b</sup> hath not 5000 pistoles a year, which is too little for our good Duke.

<sup>a</sup> Anne, dau. of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, by his 1st wife, Marie of Bourbon, Duchess of Montpensier. She died unmarried in 1693. On these projects of marriage for Charles and the Duke of York, see Clarendon, p. 783.

<sup>b</sup> Mary, dau. of Henry, Duke of Longueville, by his first wife, Louise of Bourbon, dau. of the Count of Soissons. She married Henry, Duke of Nemours, in 1657.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

 $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{3}{8}$  [Dec.]

Let me know whether it be certain that your great friend Sir John Berkley hath a grant passed to be a Baron of England and that he is, or shall be shortly, made a Counsellor.

There are some papists at the Louvre that write strange reports of having gained much on the K. and D. of York's inclinations to their party.

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

SIR,

Louvre, 15 December.

Till I received yours of the 6 of this month I beleevd you at least as farr as Antwerp in your way hether, and ever since I came to Paris I have expected it with soe much confidence that I forbore to write to you, which otherwyse I should certainly have done, to have let you seene the continuance of my respects and friendship to you, which I assure you plainly noe distance or alteration whatsoever can alter or in any degree deminish. I am much grieved at the disapoyntment of my hopes of seeing you and dischargeing my thoughts freely to you as I had designed; but I am much more troubled to find the disapoyntment proceede from your want of helth and that you set noe limit to your stay from us in case of your recovery. What you desire from mee towards the King shall in all the partes of it bee performed by mee with my best skill and industry, but with as much faithfullnes as from your owne sone. The truth is that by the gracious mention the King makes of you upon all occations, what I shall doe will bee more to shew my friendship then that there is any neede of it. I have not yet spoken to the King about your sending your sone, but I dare undertake it will bee approved of and that noe thing can give the King the least doubt of your faith to him or of your readines to

serve him. I professe myself an enemy to callumny and in that am obleeged, if called to it, to defend the cleereness of your reputation, which is soe generally knowen that my worke in it will bee easy. If there were greater dificulty in your commands, you should yet see that I am

Your most affectionate humble servant,

ORMONDE.

*Endorsed by Nicholas*: Lo. Marq. Ormond to  
me, full of noble kindness and assuringe  
of the Kings gracious opinion of me.

\*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

4 January, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$ , N. S.

I can assure you our late master of glorious memory never spake worse of old Sir H. Vane than our now royal master hath done (and I conceive justly enough) of Mr. R. Long, as Mr. Attorney can tell; and yet you will find he neither can nor must leave him. The not quitting or reproving of faithless and perfidious servants was certainly an impotency that contributed as much as anything to the ruin of the best of masters, our late dear master, and I doubt will be fatal to his family, which are all subject to that feeble imperfection.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

†† January.

I am infinitely obliged to his Majesty for the continuance of his gracious goodness to me; but I cannot but believe that his Majesty is well pleased that I forbore to come thither with you, being I am so very unacceptable to the Queen, and that very undeservedly as his Majesty best knows.

There is certainly some great design in hand in England, and it will not be many months before we shall hear of some great change in the government there; and, albeit seldom comes the better, yet

I like well that they are there so often upon altering and new molding their rule. Cromwell doth for certain by degrees and insensible steps draw the army every day nearer London.

All honest men here who are lovers of monarchy are very glad that the K. hath at length banisht his court that father of atheists, Mr. Hobbes,<sup>a</sup> who, it is said, hath rendered all the Queen's court and very many of the D. of York's family atheists and, if he had been suffered, would have done his best to have likewise poisoned the K.'s court.

I hear the L<sup>d</sup> Culpepper is much dejected upon the death of Ireton,<sup>b</sup> by whose favour he now (as some say) acknowledges he formerly enjoyed something out of his estate towards his support, which is now lost.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

Hague, <sup>a</sup>/<sub>18</sub> January.

I have it from several good hands that the K. hath resigned himself wholly to the Queen.

I intend, God willing, to stay in these parts as long as I can keep myself from starving (which is not like to be many months) and then (according to the resolution you know I have taken) to go into England and bid them do with me as they list. If the K. cannot protect an honest man in his honest ways from his mother's unjust displeasure, what honest faithful men will serve him?

The D. of Buckingham is, as I hear (but he says nothing at all to me of anything), by his friends in England making his composition and hath bid very high for it. . . . The Lord Hopton is, I hear, at Bruges, and some say in a probable way to make his composition in England. It is much more necessary that the K. think of making some more Bps. in England than of a greater or more numerous nobility.

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Hobbes, whose "Leviathan" was published at London in 1651. He had been Charles's mathematical tutor. See *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 45.

<sup>b</sup> He died at Limerick, 15 Nov. 1651



I hear L<sup>d</sup> Percy is much concerned in the forbidding Hobbes to come to court and says it was you and other episcopal men that were the cause of it. But I hear that Wat. Montagu and other Papists (to the shame of the true Protestants) were the chief cause that that grand atheist was sent away. And I may tell you, some say the Marq. of Ormonde was very slow in signifying the K.'s command to Hobbes to forbear coming to court, which I am confident is not true, though several persons affirm it.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

1 Febr., N.S.

I did hope you would have had an especial care to carry with inviolable secrecy the success of your negotiation in Spain, the particulars whereof, and of Sir H. De Vic's being sent about it, and of the supplying of the Marq. of Ormonde for the Poland Ambassador's default, are (as I hear) now public discourse at the Louvre. The consequence whereof I doubt will be that the Spaniard will pay nothing for fear of displeasing their allies in England, and that the French will take this occasion to hold their hand or abate of their allowance, considering the K. receives supplies from their enemies whiles he is in France.<sup>a</sup>

The Lord Culpepper told a friend of his here that it is possible Mr. Long<sup>b</sup> may be guilty of writing such a letter to Ireton, for that at the same time which it is said he wrote it he was very much discontented.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

1 Febr., N.S.

Yours of the 1<sup>o</sup> of this last month brings us indeed great news that so faithfull and usefull a servant to the Louvre, after he had

<sup>a</sup> For most of this paragraph see *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 47, note.

<sup>b</sup> He was deprived of his secretaryship (to which he had been reappointed on the King's return from Scotland) on his being accused by Col. Wogan of treasonable practices in 1646 (Hyde to Nicholas, 20 Jan. 1651, *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. 43). See also Wogan's narrative in *Orm. Papers*, i. 139.

even given up his soul to serve them, should be suffered to be accused of so petty an offence as betraying the K. and his army. But I hope he will either acquit himself or not fall singly ; for it is believed that in other things (of no less ill-consequence to the K.'s service) there are others who have been as faulty as Mr Long. I hear Lord Culpepper (who is now in this place preparing for France) saith that indeed Mr Long was very much discontented at the time when he is accused to have sent that letter to Ireton.

I am very confident that Sir Ed. Hyde will not have a hand in making Sir Geo. Carteret a counsellor. Tho' he love him very well and hath reason to do so, yet I know he is a better friend to the K.'s business than to be a means to make Sir Geo. Carteret a counsellor, which is not the way to recover the honour of the K.'s council.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

Hague,  $\frac{5}{15}$  Febr.

What your friendly letter of the 2<sup>d</sup> of this month tells me concerning the earnest endeavours of the Marq. of Ormonde, the Queen, Lord Jermyn and others to make L<sup>d</sup> Digby Secretary, I have in letters from [the] Louvre to several persons here.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

$\frac{12}{2}$  Febr.

I did not think that the K. had so ill an opinion of Lord Culpepper<sup>a</sup> for the business of Gloucester. I am sure the miscarriage of the business in the Downs was not inferior to any treason that I have heard of.

P.S.—Mr. Hobbes is at London much caressed, as one that hath

<sup>a</sup> “ And the envy and jealousy of all this [the ill-success of the siege of Gloucester in 1643] fell upon Sir John Colepepper, who was indeed of the opinion for the siege, but without doubt . . . . he believed there was very good reason for that engagement and was most free from any corrupt end, and of the most sincere fidelity ” (Clarendon, p. 421).

by his writings justified the reasonableness and righteousness of their arms and actions.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

$\frac{12}{25}$  Febr.

E. of Norwich writes to me that Sir E. Hyde is now most free to him, which he saith shall do Sir E. H. no hurt.

I am very obliged to you and other my friends for keeping me from being commanded into France, since his Majesty intends not to stay there long.

I easily believe that Mr. Attorney is no more your true friend than mine or any man's else ; and I much doubt whether his nature be capable of being a true friend . . . I have been told by several persons that Lord Digby is turning papist.

TO MR. HENRY SEYMOUR.

7 March, N.S.

The generality of the merchants and people here are for a present war, but many of the States General who have great offices and more advantages in time of peace than war, or who are inclined to the religion and opinions of those in England, use all possible industry to prevent a rupture with the rebels there, and some of them give forth that, albeit they shall be compelled to have a war with the English, yet they will not call in our master.

My L<sup>d</sup> Duke of Bucks is here still . . . Some of those about his grace make him believe he is already wiser than his father. I wish he may be half so wise when he doubles his age. But indeed he hath wit enough, but I doubt he wants ballast.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

7 March, N.S.

I shall readily obey his Majesty's commands<sup>a</sup> signified by you . . . I am glad that the Queen thinks me an honest man.

<sup>a</sup> Viz. either to go to Paris or to meet the King elsewhere upon due notice (see Hyde's letter of 24 Feb. in *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 49).

If you shall make Pointdexter desire to serve me in the place of a secretary, I am so very well satisfied of his honesty and abilities as I shall willingly entertain him. . . . But I have no mind at all to meddle any more with Oudart ; for I am confident that, if my old friend Mr. Ashburnham were faulty to our late master, he is privy to it, for the several reasons I formerly told you.

The K.'s Resident here<sup>a</sup> is a most unskilful and indeed ridiculous person, and more a subject to these States than to the K. and strangely avaricious.

TO MR. H. SEYMOUR.

$\frac{4}{14}$  March.

Apprehensive of the consequence of the discoveries that will be made by the papers and letters found in Mr. Long's trunk, which was, with a strangely supine negligence, left so long in Elizabeth castle<sup>b</sup> . . . . I conceive they chiefly concern the business in Scotland.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

$\frac{4}{14}$  March.

The D. of Buckingham affects to be accounted a wit . . . He is so extolled by Col. Tuke<sup>c</sup> and some other who are called here wits as I fear will do him no good. But I am glad to hear you say that his Majesty so well understands him.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

$\frac{3}{11}$  March.

I find by your 10<sup>th</sup> of the 9<sup>th</sup> present that you are better informed of the E. of Norwich's proceedings at Brussels than we are here. I doubt he hath to deal with so crafty a statesman as will give him

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Macdougall or Macdowell, who succeeded Sir Will. Boswell as Resident at the Hague in 1650.

<sup>b</sup> See the proceedings of the Council of State, 20 April (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 223).

<sup>c</sup> Col. Samuel Tuke, afterwards 2nd Bart., of Cressing Temple, co. Essex. His claims to wit are supported by his tragi-comedy "The Adventures of Five Hours," 1662.

more trouble and delay than Norwich expects; albeit his Ldp. knows that Duke pretty well and may perhaps conceive he hath him at some disadvantage by reason of his former engagement for Ireland.

I doubt (as you apprehend) that Mr. Attorney (for whose name I pray let 246 be put in your cypher) will be indeed mad if he be not made a counsellor; and, if he shall, some believe he will make all the council mad. I cannot imagine what place he can expect unless to be Lord Keeper, and then he will be rarely matched with a Master of the Rolls<sup>a</sup>; and, if the K. makes Mr. Attorney a Counsellor, he will be obliged to send for Ld. Culpepper to Council also.

I heartily wish the D. of Buck. had some good people about him; for I very much doubt that Leighton (who is said to be a very vicious man) and such atheists will undo him.

I cannot marvel that you say [you] are as far from understanding the K.'s condition as before Lord Jermyn went to the French court, since I am told that his Ldp. neither had nor would have any instructions for his negotiating there, because he would not be liable to give other account thereof than as himself pleased. Oh, Mr. Chancellor, the omission of calling men that have been employed in the K.'s services to a due and formal account according to antient custom (either privately to the King and some such one or more Counsellors as he shall think fit, or publicly to the Council Board) hath been a principal cause of the ruin of most of all his late Majesty's and of this K.'s affairs. For, when they know they may shift off the giving account of their actions and employments, they will be careless of their performances of any trust or charge committed to their care; whereas, if they were sure to be called to a strict account for the same, they would be more diligent and faithful in their negotiations.

I have it from a good hand that the K.'s purpose to go into

<sup>a</sup> Lord Colepeper, who had been appointed Master of the Rolls in 1643.



Germany is no secret at Westminster and that they have there weekly exact and perfect intelligence of all that is designed or done at the Louvre.

There is one very able man that will undertake to send me intelligence, but he will have me to allow him £5 a week ; and another (but not so intelligent a person) offers to do it for 20s. a week. I wish I had means to entertain them both ; but I cannot entertain either of them unless I may be assured of money for their due satisfaction. I pray let me know by the next what the K. will have me to do in it.

TO SIR EDWARD HYDE.

4 Apr. N.S.

I shall do what I can to get some intelligence from England, tho' I may now tell you all men there, even of the best affections for the K., are now extremely and almost absolutely discouraged from corresponding with any about the K. since the many pernicious discoveries made by Mr. Cooke, Birkenhead and others entrusted by his Majesty; and I fear that the trunk of papers taken at Jersey will so confirm that their prejudice against all men about the K. as that they will not confide any more in any with him.

Sir W<sup>m</sup> Swan <sup>a</sup> and Col. Bunkley are both arrived here from Sweden. They have both of them done their own business, but I do not hear that the Queen of Sweden hath now any more thought or consideration of our master's condition or affairs; albeit I believe his condition may be hers as soon as any prince's in Christendom.

It is here said your favourite Dr. Froissard is become of late a quarrelsome sword-man, very censorious and meddling in matters no way appertaining to his person or profession.

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Swan, of Southfleet, co. Kent, knighted at Breda in 1649; cr. a Bart. in 1666. He died English Resident at Hamburg, in 1678 (*Archæologia*, xxxvii. p. 147).

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

Hague,  $\frac{1}{11}$  April.

I easily believe that our friend the E. of Norwich hath a very hard task, having to negotiate with the most uncertain person in the world, the D. of Lorraine, who may by his falsehood deceive the E. of Norwich or any man living; but I am very confident that Lord Norwich (who perfectly knows him) hath more than ordinary assurances from him.

I am told since my coming to Amsterdam that Lilburne<sup>a</sup> (who was lately in this place) saith that, if the K. will under his hand promise, if he shall be restored to be K. of England and to all his revenues, that he will put all his forts, castles and ships, and likewise the militia of England, into the hands of the people of England and be constantly governed by Parliaments in all affairs that concern the commonwealth of England, that he will undertake to make him K. of England, having, as he saith, above 40,000 men that will upon such conditions rise for the K. And I am told that Lord Percy and some others here are of opinion that Lilburne is more able to set the crown on the King's head than ever Scotland was, if his Majesty will follow his advice. What say you there to this?

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

$\frac{1}{11}$  April.

I am much afraid that Mr. Attorney will be very unquiet with his associates and uneasy to the K. in council; but when Pr. Rupert comes, he will assuredly get him to be a counsellor, and, if I were able, I should not oppose it more than you. It is written to me from Paris that L<sup>d</sup> Percy shall be of the K.'s council, as soon as he comes to his Majesty. I pray, is it so resolved? If it be, then there is an Oliver for your Rowland; and, if it be requisite that there should be union in the King's counsels (as wisest men say they will not, they cannot, otherwise prosper), I doubt the natures

<sup>a</sup> Lieut.-Col. John Lilburne, who had been ordered by Parliament on 15 Jan. 165 $\frac{1}{2}$ , to quit the kingdom (*Commons' Journals*, vii. p. 72).

and dispositions of those two persons (who love and are beloved by very few) are not of the most sociable temper.

TO THE E. OF NORWICH.

1<sup>st</sup> April.

Let me tell you in your ear, I am afraid that in your present negotiation Sir Hen. De Vic (who is strongly ambitious to be an incomparable minister) hath not done you that right you [he ?] ought.

I had by this post a very obliging gracious letter from his Majesty, which hath much cheered me in my very low and necessitous condition.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

1<sup>st</sup> April.

I am apt to believe, as you say in yours of the 6<sup>th</sup> of this month, that Sir G. Radcliffe is a very busy and meddling person and none of the most secret or the most discreet.

I cannot easily give credit that the K. will make Lord Percy a counsellor; and you may remember that at Oxford Lord Wilmot absolutely refused to be joined in council with Lord Percy, giving his reason for it, because he had formerly discovered to the Parliament what he had sworn to keep secret. And methinks Lord Wilmot should still put the K. in mind of that knack of Lord Percy's. I am sure Pr. Rupert would do it, if he were with his Majesty.

Blake is made sole admiral for this year of the rebels' fleet. He is very active, knowing and daring; which confirms me in my opinion that the English are resolved to make some great enterprise in foreign parts this year.

These [the Dutch] are a very dull people and unactive now they want their Governor; which evidently sets forth how much they are obliged to the House of Nassau for all they have and their odious ingratitude to that noble family.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

<sup>18</sup> April.

His Majesty's gracious letter, approving my sending him thro' your hands such small intelligence as I can get here, was not only most welcome but very obliging.

The Princess Royal . . . is a very discreet and virtuous lady; and, if she had not the naturall imperfection of her family, an unwillingness to put herself to think of business, she would appear an excellent Princess. She every day tells me that, if the K. do not reduce his family to as small a number as it is possible and make good choice of orderly and quiet persons to be about him, it will make all places unwilling to give him entertainment.

If the English make war on this side the sea, I am confident they will as soon attempt the taking of Dunkirk (by the help of the Spaniard) as anything, that being a place that will be of vast advantage to them and that will render them absolute masters of the narrow seas and make a good step towards the mastering of these Provinces, which doubtless is their principal aim, tho' these dull butter-boxes will not discern it nor provide sufficiently against it till it be too late . . . .

The L<sup>d</sup> Culpepper comes, I hear, very often hither to Lord Percy, who, by his servant Mason (a great confident of Mr. Attorney's), Dr. Froissard and Sir H. Wood, is held to have the most exact and certain intelligence of all passages and most secret affairs at the Louvre of any person in these parts, whereof his L<sup>dp</sup> makes no small brags and takes upon him to censure and indeed despise all your counsels and actions there. Lord Percy in my understanding is a very weak man, tho' full of art and subtilty for his own little ends and factions.

The Lord Culpepper is outwardly very civil to Secret. Nicholas, but very reserved otherwise to me. I may tell you freely I believe all those lords [Culpepper, Percy and Jermyn] go upon as ill principles as may be; for I doubt there is few of them that would

not do anything almost, and advise the K. to do anything, that may probably recover his or their estates.

Frost,<sup>a</sup> Secretary to the Council of State, dead of an apoplexy.

Sir Francis Mackworth<sup>b</sup> (who is a very faithful person and affectionate to the K.), being desirous to go for England, hath offered to hold correspondence with me for the K.'s service.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

$\frac{1}{2}$  Apr.

Yours of the  $\frac{3}{13}$  present is a more full relation of the state of affairs at the Louvre than any I have received; and I assure you I am not sorry that I am at this distance at present, tho' I believe those that are present did and do what they are able to hinder such unseasonable acts as a Higher Power than they have put the K. upon. I fear that they who have caused the K. to do such things have a design to make all the royal party so discontented with his Majesty as that they may not help him or assist him. I am from a very considerable hand (of whose truth I cannot doubt) assured that Lord Digby will not upon any terms be the K.'s Secretary; and therefore I believe that those who told you he was Secretary and that Mr. Bennet<sup>c</sup> executes the place in his absence are much mistaken. And besides, I hear that L<sup>d</sup> Digby hath no affection for, nor esteem of, Mr. Bennet at all, for that Bennet is a creature of Lord Jermyn's, as all men know that know anything.

I am very much misinformed if the K. doth or can think Sir Ed. Hyde Lord Jermyn's great friend, and am myself extremely deceived if he be, whatsoever the honest party with you upon misinformation may conceive.

<sup>a</sup> Gualter Frost, senior. He died shortly before 29 Mar. and was succeeded by John Thurloe (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 198).

<sup>b</sup> Third son of Sir Tho. Mackworth, of Normanton, co. Rutl., Bart. He had served in the Netherlands, and had been Major-General to the Marquis of Newcastle and afterwards, in 1645, Governor of Langport, co. Som.

<sup>c</sup> Henry Bennet, knighted in 1657, when he was Secretary to the Duke of York; cr. Baron Arlington in 1664, and Earl of Arlington in 1672. He had already served as Secretary to Lord Digby, 1644-46 (Doyle, *Official Baronage*).



TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

1<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> Apr.

I assure you I am so full of sad thoughts and apprehension upon consideration of several particulars contained in your 15<sup>th</sup> of the 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> of this month as I am even at a stand what to do; for, when Kings keep not their words even with their best and faithfullest servants for their own good, what can an honest man hope for? The consequences of that his Majesty's late act<sup>a</sup> speaks so much ill (besides the aggravation of having done it contrary to his express promise) to the understanding of all honest men as I shall say nothing unto it, but tell you it may be justly feared that those who put his Majesty on such unpopular and displeasing things have rather a design to make all men of honour and worth that best love him fall from him, and that they have no spark of desire to see him honorably enthroned. If I had known as much some years since as I long apprehended, and as sad experience now makes too evident to the world, I had then made that honest retirement you now say you desire . . . . If the K. will suffer himself or any of his council to be not only openly censured but in a jeering way publicly flouted by any person whatsoever and all his counsels and actions to be made table-talk in his court by every busy-body or sycophant to please the Queen or Lord Jermyn (which it is observed to be an ordinary, tho' most shameful practice) his Majesty must never expect to be quiet. If, as you say, a man may not be secure in the word of a king, how can he be confident of anything?

I shall be sure to keep with inviolable secrecy what is resolved touching an embassy into these parts.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

2 May, N.S.

Sir Henry De Vic is undoubtedly a creature of the Queen's and Lord Jermyn's and will be as great an advancer of Pr. Rupert,

<sup>a</sup> In making Mr. Crofts a Gentleman of the Bedchamber. See Hyde's letter of 13 Apr. in *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 58.

when he comes and shall be in power, as he is now of Lord Wilmot.

It is very true that [Sir] Edw. Walker is a great admirer of D[uke of] Hamilton, and, finding that Mr Crofts hath been advanced upon that score, he intends to try whether he can prevail at the Louvre or with the K. on the same account. He is well enough inclined to turn papist, if that may turn him to good and preferment; but for the rest I believe he is very faithfull to the K.'s cause and no great admirer of Lord Wilmot nor of any Bed-chamber man but Ned Progers and Dr. Froissard.

I have seen lately a letter from England that says that all the K.'s party that come into England (except excepted persons) are very well received and kindly used.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

9 May, N. S.

Upon the first hint of Sir Geo. Radcliffe's humour of talking and making more of things mentioned to him than was contained in his letters, or was so much as thought on by the writer, I forbore to write any more to him, who hath not one letter from me since about the middle of February last; and I humbly thank you for the particulars you mention touching his blabbing of matters committed to him for secrets.

I expect the E. of Norwich here every day. When he comes I shall not fail to acquaint him with all that you mention concerning him, but it is above six weeks since I gave him my opinion touching Sir H. De Vic, who certainly is too ambitious and wretchedly covetous to be true to any man.

I marvel what business the K. hath for an ambassador to do at Rome, and I am sorry to hear that the E. of Norwich hath recommended Lord Andover<sup>a</sup> for that employment. I cannot expect

<sup>a</sup> Charles Howard, Viscount Andover, eldest son of Thomas, 1st Earl of Berkshire; succ. as 2nd Earl in 1669. He had been called to the Upper House as Baron Howard of Charleton in 1640.

that the K. shall ever recover his honour or any great esteem while he remains in France.

I do not at all marvel that any man that can side with the Presbyterians, or that is Presbyterian, doth turn Papist. I would as soon be the one as the other. But it is news here that Mr. Holder<sup>a</sup> is a Papist. Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Coventry is doubtless of the Presbyterian faction and so may upon good hopes of advancement be anything else.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

9 May, N. S.

I shall make all the haste I can to Paris considering my wanting condition and the difficulty I am otherwise also like to meet with.

If the treaty which our master hath with much honour procured in France<sup>b</sup> shall be a means to put a peaceable end to the intestine troubles in that kingdom, I believe it may not only prevent any design that those in England may have upon France but be a good step to a happy and seasonable peace betweene the two crowns of France and Spain, which all good men heartily pray for.

I have now even now received your 19<sup>th</sup> of the 3<sup>d</sup> of this month. Why do you suffer the K. to be so shamefully put by the honour he deservedly got by his first mediating with the K. of France for a treaty with the Princes?

TO LORD HOPTON.

$\frac{2}{13}$  May.

Receives his Ldp's letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> with his patent, which he engages to keep secret.

Obstructions in the passage of his Ldp's business in England, "which I hope had been well near finished. And methinks those

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Holder, Admiralty agent for the King at Brest. For Hyde's opinion of him see Bray's *Evelyn*, iv. p. 261, "a weeke man and so sottishly corrupted in his religion that hee believes whatsoever any priest sayes to him."

<sup>b</sup> Between the King and Condé (see Hyde to Nicholas, 27 Apr. 1652, *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 64).

that obstruct it are against their own interest, for, if your Ldp. had found fair and easy passage (tho' very costly), many others of the K.'s party would have come in to them; and the present rulers will never be secure untill they have given more contentment to the K.'s faithfullest friends, who will be more true than the Presbyterians to those that they engage their words."

The gallant E. of Arundel is dead in England,<sup>a</sup> and hath left a broken tho' great estate and a distracted family, his eldest son being mad in Italy. He hath a very gallant person to his second son, who, with the old Countess, will now, I presume, have the chief management of that great person's vast estate.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

<sup>6</sup>/<sub>16</sub> May.

I have received a letter\* from our noble friend E. of Norwich, who says he hath been as unworthily used by Sir H. De Vic as ever one man was by another; and his Ldp. says he now finds the warning I gave him prophetic.

It is here affirmed that Mr. Holder was never a Presbyterian, altho' much trusted by that party; and it will not be here credited that he is turned Papist. Indeed, he to me seems to be a discrete and very honest man and very right in his affections to the K.'s interest.

It seems by what you say that the K.'s secret council are the Queen, Lord Jermyn and Watt. Montagu, for that of greatest business he consults with them only, without the knowledge of Marquis of Ormonde or Sir Ed. Hyde; and, if that be so, I see no cause why the K. should be jealous that either of the two latter are so complying with the Louvre creatures and councils.

I should be glad to hear that Prince Rupert were coming to the K. and desire to know what you have it.

<sup>a</sup> He died 17 Apr. 1652, being succeeded by his son Thomas Howard, who was restored to the Dukedom of Norfolk in 1660. On the latter's "distemper of the brain" see Walker, *Hist. Discourses*, p. 220. His younger brother, Henry, succeeded him as Duke of Norfolk in 1677.

Do you believe that Sir John Berkley is inclining to be a Papist? I doubt indeed that the design of the Louvre is now to persuade the K. and D. of York to turn Papists, as it was formerly (when the Scots had any power) to make the K. profess to be a Presbyterian, endeavouring to prevail with his Majesty to prostitute his religion even to contrary professions of faith; which cannot but dishonour the K. and make him an instrument to defame his best mother the Church of England.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

<sup>6</sup>/<sub>15</sub> May, 1652.

Complains that the K. suffers himself to be persuaded against his own judgment and conscience in affairs of importance. The K.'s blessed father often bemoaned himself that he had not followed the dictates of his own reason and judgment in many things of consequence.

Our sister Bab<sup>a</sup> (who in earnest is very much in the Princess Royal's esteem and confidence) hath lately upon occasion said so much good of you to the Princess Royal as hath not only satisfied her Highness concerning some malicious expressions that the Lady Cornwallis<sup>b</sup> made to the Princess of you (whereof you may not take notice), but as hath made her Highness deliver that she had a very gracious opinion and esteem of Sir Ed. Hyde.

I am now newly told that there is in these countries one who calls himself Capt. Oxford (that, when he first came from England, was a great companion of your friend Lilburne, but they of late seem to be fallen out) who hath said to several persons here that some who are very near and much in the K.'s counsels are pensioners to those in England. Will it never be otherwise at the Louvre?

<sup>a</sup> Barbara, daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Bart., and sister of Francis, Lady Hyde. She died in Sept. following (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 149)

<sup>b</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Crofts and 2nd wife of Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Bart., cr. Baron Cornwallis in 1661.



TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

$\frac{13}{23}$  May.

I am not less jealous that his Majesty hath entirely resigned up himself to the Louvre counsels than he can be that Marq. Ormonde and Sir E. Hyde incline too much towards them. Not that I believe the K. doth like the Louvre courses (which doubtless he is too good and too wise to approve of), but that the Louvre hath by their jeering and raillery overawed him. But, if the K. would but once frown on L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn and your cosen,<sup>a</sup> you should see all the Louvre creep on their bellies to him, which he may do and yet pay all filial duty to the Queen, which all honest men will advise him by no means to omit in any the least circumstance.

Mr. Denham hath here lately had very ill luck at play, which hath made him (I am told) in great want at present. He talks of going for England, but it is thought intends not to adventure it, more for fear what his creditors than the rebels there will do against him.

TO E. OF NORWICH.

$\frac{13}{23}$  May.

The Lord Jermyn and L<sup>d</sup> Wilmot are gone to the D. of Lorraine to persuade him to join with the K. in making a peace between the French king and princes, and between the two crowns of France and Spain. But I doubt that Duke so much dislikes both those lords as he will not hearken to the proposition, at least not treat with those men concerning it.

TO SIR E. HYDE.

$\frac{13}{23}$  May.

I am confident you cannot think when I mention the Louvre Councils that I do account Marq. Ormonde or yourself to be any part of that Council; and that I intend thereby any other than L<sup>d</sup> Jermyn, Wat. Montagu and their adherents.

I am very glad that the K. hath added to his council the Lord Inchiquin, who is certainly a worthy person and *par negotiis*. . . .

<sup>a</sup> Walter Montague (see p. 220). He was first cousin to Hatton's wife, Elizabeth Montague (see p. 97).

Princess Royal, if I hear truth, is extreme weary of Lord Percy and speaks not very kindly of him; but his bold and busy putting himself into every fidling business that relates to her makes him seem to be gracious with her. And he makes advantage of the natural infirmity of her family, which is to use those best who put themselves forward into their business, tho' they like neither their persons nor their dealings.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

20 May.

I perceive by yours of the 1<sup>st</sup> present that we are both of us of one opinion concerning Sir Geo. Radcliffe, who, besides his great futility, doth, it seems, dilate very unfriendly what his friends communicate in most confidence with him.

It is a very sad thing to me to see that the D. of Buckingham is now solely governed by the advice of Leighton and Ascot, who repair in difficult cases for counsel sometimes to Lord Culpepper but most often to infamous John Lilburne.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

20 May, 1652.

I believe, if the K. had means to remove and to subsist when he shall be removed, it were not very difficult to find out a more convenient place for his residence than in France; for I am clear of opinion that, if his Majesty lived any where else, his honour and esteem would increase, whereas it is now, if [not] in a declension, in a very great stand.

All that know the contemptible opinion that the D. of Lorrain had of your Louvre idol did expect that the K.'s embassy sent him by Lord Jermyn and L<sup>d</sup> Wilmot would have no better a return than it seems they brought.

I have by some very honest and discrete persons gone lately from hence to England put some things on foot in order to the getting of some supply thence for the K., if it be possible, tho' we all apprehend the late discoveries have frightened even the most loyal

men from the thought of their duty in that kind. I am likewise upon a good and secure way for the making of Bishops without any noise, if, when I come, the K. shall approve of it, and I have already made some preparations for it. But in earnest Sir Geo. Radcliffe is too futile a person to be employed in a business of that secrecy; for I have from several hands had notice of his busy discoursing in too public a manner with Papists and Protestants about it.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

6 June, N.S.

I easily believe that all the K.'s best friends in England are so much unsatisfied with most men now about him as they will not adventure to assist his Majesty either with intelligence or any money, whereof I have not long since made some experience.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

6 June, N.S.

I believe, as you say, that the Spaniard hath cause enough to be jealous of their new allies, if my own observations and the sundry advertisements I have from time to time received from several parts of a good intelligence between those in England and the French Court and Cardinal be true.

Account received on Monday by express to the States from Van Trump of his engagement with the English fleet.<sup>a</sup> He complains of 10 Dutch captains not coming up nor firing a shot.

Young Lord Montrose had much cause of discontent for being neglected, which hastened his departure for Scotland, where his estate is restored to him.

I am glad to hear that you have so well performed the K.'s command in inquiring into the carriage of Lord Jermyn as well in some business of receipts and disbursements as in others of negotiation and transactions, albeit you say not a word to me of it in any of your letters.

<sup>a</sup> On 29 May, when he fought an indecisive action with Blake off Dover.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON.]

$\frac{3}{13}$  June.

I am sorry to hear you say you have still so much cause to be discontented for the neglect that is by some shewn to you, but I cannot tell what to think of your resolution to go into England, which is a place that I believe will give you much more cause to be discontented than where you are; albeit I confess it is very natural for a good man to desire to die in his native country. . . .

Major Armourer<sup>a</sup> and Leighton met and fought their duel in Brabant. They both passed with good resolution on each other without any hurt, and so closing Armourer had Leighton under him, and thereupon their seconds parted them.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

$\frac{17}{27}$  June.

One of the English rebels agents in France, Watson, formerly scout-master, who lives privately with his wife and family at Paris for his health, as he pretends, a great confident of Cromwell's, and under him and by his directions Morrel, Villiers and all the other petty agents do negotiate. There is also one Dr. or Father Holben [Holden?] a secular English priest (who is great with Sir Geo. Radcliffe and many other English), who is a pestilent agent and corresponds with the Presbyterian party in England and doth the K.'s party and business much mischief by his intelligence, as I am credibly told by some Papists here.

Your friends Mr. Tho. Cooke and Sir W<sup>m</sup> Davenant have both of them the liberty of the Tower.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

4 July, N.S.

The K.'s preventing the fighting of the K. of France's and D. of Lorraine's forces was an honourable and a gallant work, and his helping to hasten the forces of the latter out of France was a popular and pious act.

<sup>a</sup> Major Nicholas Armorer, son probably of Thomas Armorer, of Belford, co. Northumb. (Visit. of Northumb., *Genealogist*, ii. p. 219).

I should be very sorry that the K. should leave the counsel and company of Marq. of Ormonde and Sir Edw. Hyde, and suffer himself to be governed wholly by the persons you mention; and truly it will be thought so, if the K. come from France without Marq. Ormonde and Sir Edw. Hyde.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

11 July.

It is probable that the business of Donatter<sup>a</sup> may have been communicated from hence to Westminster, as the K. you say is advertised . . . . Indeed I am much afraid that all that is done in the K.'s service by the Princess Royal thro' the hands of Henfleet and Oudart is not long unknown at Westminster.

The Lord Percy hath intelligence from Paris that the K., forsaking the advice of the Queen and of all his Council, suffers himself to be wholly governed by Lord Wilmot, Mr. Crofts and Mr. Coventry, who are said to be His Majesty's chief counsellors. Such a report will make all men (as well as the D. of Lorraine) forbear to supply the K. As concerning my coming, I assure you I grow every day more unable to undergo the charge of such a journey than I was . . . Yet I will do my best to wait on His Majesty as soon as I shall be assured where he will fix.

I pray by all means advise the K at this time especially to keep up his honour and not to suffer himself to be prevailed with by vain or vicious persons.

There are some here that have letters from England which say that Leighton was there shut up 2 hours with Cromwell, who used him with more than ordinary courtesy.

<sup>a</sup> Major-Gen. Vandruske had been commissioned on 15 Apr. to go to Dunnottar Castle, on the coast of Kincardine, to bring away the Scottish regalia, etc., but the order was cancelled on receipt of news that the Castle was besieged (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. pp. 59, 74). See also Hyde to Nicholas, 23 Mar., in *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 55.



TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

1 Aug. N.S.

I am very sorry to understand that Sir Edw. Hyde is so much dejected, who is certainly a very honest man and hath excellent principles ; but I doubt his confidence in some who have neither religion nor principles may prejudice him.

As I am sure our late Master (now with God) lost all by despising of councils and by undervaluing of counsellors, so Queen Eliz. kept up her honour and esteem by the value she set on councils and on her counsellors. And untill the K. shall have a well-composed Council sworn of honest and thorough loyal men that will trust one another, and in whom honest men will and may confide, and that shall have more reputation with the K. and respect from his courtiers than in the time of the late K. of blessed memory, I cannot hope that his Majesty's affairs will prosper or that he will have that honour or reverence either at home or abroad that is due to his Majesty.

I did ever conceive that Mr. Elliot had ever been of Mr. Attorney's and Lord Gerard's party, and that all of them had been really of Pr. Rupert's party ; but your last says that Mr. Attorney [and] L<sup>d</sup> Gerard are one party that stands single, which I marvel at.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

1 Aug., N.S.

I hope when Mr. Attorney shall be a counsellor that he will be as forward to hold up the reputation of counsellors as he hath been heretofore apt to slight their counsels and actions. And you may be sure that all Prince Rupert's friends will endeavour to advance one that is so entirely his Highness's creature. But, as you say, I never heard that Mr. Attorney was popular with the K.'s party, nor do I take his disposition to be such as is like to gain much on the affections of many men.

Dr. Johnson<sup>a</sup> hath at Breda (since his last return from England)

<sup>a</sup> Possibly the same Dr. Johnson who was chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia in 1644, when she was desired to remove him as "ill-affected to the Parliament and

spoken so wildly and knavishly in commendation of the present government in England and hath so extolled their devotion and form (or rather no form) in religion as that he is by order silenced and threatned so as, it is said, he is privately fled into England, or at least out of these States Dominions.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

$\frac{5}{15}$  Aug.

That villain Pau<sup>a</sup> is here generally conceived to be an active instrument for the rebels in England, and is most assuredly a mischievous enemy to the K. and to the Pr. of Orange.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

$\frac{13}{15}$  August.

As for the difference between Sir Ed. Hyde and Mr. Attorney, I conceive that is only emulation, which you know always appears between all men that have been bred together at the law; and when Mr. Attorney shall be preferred as he deserves I hope that emulation will cease.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

$\frac{18}{15}$  Aug.

It is to me very strange and unexpected news that the Lady Denbigh<sup>b</sup> should be by the Queen disrespected and the Lady Isabella the only gracious woman about the Queen. But your news of the Marquis<sup>c</sup> of Dorchester's being called to the Bar and to

religion" (*Com. Journ.*, 28 June, 1644, iii. p. 544). Cole (B. M., Add. MS. 5873, f. 17) seems to identify him with William Johnson, D.D., Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, and rector of Warboys, who was Archdeacon of Huntingdon from 18 Mar. 166 $\frac{2}{3}$ , till his death on 4 Mar. 166 $\frac{2}{3}$ , and whom Kennet describes as "at once the most witty and most pious man living" (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.*, ed. 1820, ii. col. 208, note 7).

<sup>a</sup> Adrian Pauw, ambassador to England in 1649 and 1652. He died 21 Feb. 1653.

<sup>b</sup> Susan, sister of George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, and widow of William Feilding, 1st Earl of Denbigh, who died in 1643.

<sup>c</sup> Henry Pierrepont, succ. as 2nd Earl of Kingston in 1643, cr. Marquis of Dorchester in 1645. He was made Hon. F.R.C.P. in 1658. See an account of him in Munk's *Roll of Roy. Coll. of Physicians*, 1878, i. p. 281.

the Bench at Gray's Inn and his practising, as you say, the law and physic even confounds me. I believe he hath a very right heart for the K. and wish him much honour and happiness. I see abundance of wealth doth not satisfy all men's minds.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

$\frac{1}{2}$  Aug.

The factious party among the States, either through jealousy of the Prince of Orange's growing greatness, or out of affection to the ruling Rebels and schismatical party in England, do endeavour to oppose all that relates to his Majesty's advantage; and do not, will not, believe such a conjunction with the K. of England will have any such influence in England as to break their naval forces by bringing any considerable number of mariners or ships thence to his Majesty's assistance in these countries.

TO SIR ED. HYDE

5 Sept. N.S.

I perceive, by your dispatch of the 23<sup>d</sup> of Aug. that you are there preparing dispatches for L<sup>d</sup> Wilmot's embassy into Germany.<sup>a</sup>

I conceive that it were better that Sir W<sup>m</sup> Curtius<sup>b</sup> should have orders from the K. to speak to the Protestant princes in Germany speedily to send to encourage these States to make an union with the K. in their war against the English rebels than Mr. Taylor,<sup>c</sup> who, being a factious papist, hath not so much reputation with the princes of the Religion Reformed. But Mr. Taylor (who I must

<sup>a</sup> He was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to the Diet of the Empire 21 Dec. 1652, having been created Earl of Rochester 13 Dec. (Doyle, *Offic. Baron.*)

<sup>b</sup> "Sieur William Curtius, a very learned and judicious person of the Palatinate. He had been scholar to Alstedius the Encyclopædist, was well advanced in years, and now Resident for his Majesty at Frankfurt" (Evelyn, *Diary*, 20 June, 1651, ed. 1852, i. p. 267). He was made a Bart. in 1652.

<sup>c</sup> John Taylor, accredited to the Electors of Cologne and Mayence 13 Sept. 1652 (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 149). "If he were to be judged by his letters I should believe him to be a fool," Hyde to Nicholas, 13 Sept. (*Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 96).

tell you, tho' well affected, is but a busy, weak man) may be fit (as you say) to intimate so much to the Emperor (with whom he is a domestic) and some of the Catholic princes. And for the better advancement of that his Majesty's service in other parts I pray be solicitous to press the K. to procure the K. of France forthwith to write effectual letters to these States and to his agent here and into Swede, Denmark, etc., as (by the advice of Myn Heer Capell<sup>a</sup> one of the States here) I wrote in my last. . . . But Myn Heer Capel, upon a second conference since my former letter, adviseth that letters and instances, which he advised the K. to procure from the K. of France and other princes, should be only to assist the K. with some ships against those in England and not to take in the K.'s cause or interest, for that he saith those who have greatest power here will oppose and frustrate the taking in of the K.'s interest, but will not be able to hinder these States from consenting to assist his Majesty with some ships to join with any others that have, or shall have, the K.'s commissions, and, when such an assistance shall be gained, it will be more easy (especially if they shall have any good success) to make these States espouse the K.'s quarrel and interests.

Our matchless sister Aylesbury died this day sennight at Hounslerdyke, a most excellent person, most virtuous and discreet, and a great ornament to the family.

Apprehends that the proposition for declaring the young Pr. of Orange General and Admiral, and Count William of Friseland<sup>b</sup> his Lieutenant during his minority, is set on foot by the artifice and instruments of the rebels in England to make a difference among the Provinces and to disunite them, that they may the better prevail against them.

<sup>a</sup> Alexander van der Capellen, Heer van Aartsbergen, etc., a warm partisan of the House of Orange (Aa, *Biogr. Woordenboek*, iii. p. 141). Hyde in his answer calls him "Keppel."

<sup>b</sup> William Frederic, Count of Nassau Dietz, mar. in 1652, Albertina, sister of William II. Prince of Orange, and aunt of the infant Prince William Henry.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

1<sup>2</sup>/<sub>12</sub> Sept.

I pray be still pressing the K. of France to hasten his effectual letters to encourage these States to assist the K. which, I may tell you, I doubt you [will] not so easily procure as you are there made to believe, there being (as I hear), by the means of one Holden and Dr. Chambers<sup>a</sup> (a Scots papist), an intelligence still kept on foot between the Cardinal and Cromwell.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

• 9<sup>o</sup>/<sub>19</sub> Sept.

I have within this sennight here been told by two several persons the particulars of M<sup>r</sup>. W<sup>m</sup> Coventry's employment into England, so secret hath it been carried. I presume that those who have told me of it had it from some to whom he communicated the same. Sir W<sup>m</sup> Throgmorton<sup>b</sup> desires that the K. may be acquainted that the Presbyterians in Cheshire and Papists in Lancashire promised him faithfully to send his Majesty considerable sums.

I am assured by several credible persons that the Marq. of Brandenburg expresses on all occasions very great resentment of the K.'s sad condition and much tenderness towards him. And therefore I pray put his Majesty in mind to cherish his good inclinations; for, when his Majesty's business in Germany shall be on foot, the forwardness and good affection of that Elector (tho' himself be none of the wisest) will be an excellent example to other princes in Germany to render them kind to the K.

The taking of Dunkirk hath much alarmed these countries, who apprehend that it may prove, whiles Spain is in conjunction with the rebels in England, another Sound to make all ships trading the narrow seas pay tribute.

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps David Chambers, author of a work "de Scotorum fortitudine, doctrina, et pietate," Paris, 1631. Hyde in his answer, 20 Sept., says he had been dead for nearly a year (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 149).

<sup>b</sup> Of Tortworth, co. Glouc., cr. a Bart. in 1611.



I am told that Sir Bal. Gerbier <sup>a</sup> landed the last week in Zealand, and is come to Rotterdam. What his business is I hear not, but you may be assured he is come for no good.

That he was informed by credible persons that came lately from England that Cromwell was preparing to dissolve the parliament and call a new representative, and by the assistance and contenance of it get the D. of Gloucester to be crowned King and himself to be declared Protector.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

10 Octob., N.S.

I am altogether unprovided for the journey [into France] having now very little other than credit to subsist on. All my estate (which, I assure you for a truth, yielded me and my mother, who enjoyed a small part of it in land and lease, full £1050 per annum) being now sold and disposed of by the rebels, besides the reversion of Alcanings,<sup>b</sup> which (being, as you know, of no contemptible value) I am fain to let fall into the hands of the lord of it.

Gerbier lurks up and down in these countries in disguise for the most part. He sent by his son lately to the Queen of Bohemia his protestation that he never wrote that infamous pamphlet *The Nonesuch Charles*,<sup>c</sup> and desired to be admitted to her presence to give her Majesty satisfaction therein. But her Majesty refused it, willing him first to satisfy me, which he said he would do; but, tho' it be a week since, I have not hitherto heard from him, nor will I willingly have to do with so defamed a villain. He goes, I hear, oft privately to Paw and some other of that faction, saying he doth go thither to give them assurance that there is no faith to be

<sup>a</sup> Sir Balthasar Gerbier, the miniature painter, a native of Middelburg. He came to England in 1615, and entered the service of Buckingham, and was afterwards assistant Master of the Ceremonies, English Resident at Brussels, etc.

<sup>b</sup> Allcannings, near Devizes, co. Wilts.

<sup>c</sup> A bitter attack on the character of Charles I. not unnaturally attributed to Gerbier, whose importance it magnifies. The Museum copy has no title-page or date.

expected from those in England. I wish you would tell me the names of some of those pamphlets which you say he wrote to persuade those at Westminster to enter into war with these States.

The proposition of Sir Marm. Langdale<sup>a</sup> is laid aside, according to his Majesty's pleasure signified; and Sir Marmaduke saith that without a very considerable sum of money he cannot possibly set on foot a correspondence with any in or about Newcastle.

The charge against the Lord Stafford,<sup>b</sup> who is still a prisoner at Heidelberg, is (as the last letters that came from thence say) very slight and he stands very stoutly upon his justification. The good Countess his mother hath sent a gentleman expressly to him to know the truth and to assist him.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

17<sup>th</sup> Octob.

Gallant and virtuous Lord Hopton died on Tuesday sennight [the 8th of that month, N.S.] at Bruges of an ague, in whom all honest and well affected men had a loss, but none so great as the K.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

17<sup>th</sup> Octob.

The Arminians have no animosity against the K.'s friends, but they have an irreconcilable malice against the House of Orange ever since the putting of Barnevelt to death. And I conceive they have now no dislike to the K. or his party, but only in relation to the young Pr. of Orange.

Queen Elizabeth would never endure to hear any person speak slighting words of any of her council, saying that they were her

<sup>a</sup> For seizing Newcastle and Tynemouth with the help of the Dutch, in return for which the latter were to have the right of selling the coal (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 149).

<sup>b</sup> William Howard, 2nd son of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, cr. Baron and Viscount Stafford in 1640. He had been arrested on a charge of scandalous immorality, and remained in custody until nearly the end of 1653 (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. pp. 263, 276).

outworks and that whosoever should go about to slight them would in the next place assault her. Of the truth whereof our blessed master was rendered a sad instance.

Sir W<sup>m</sup> Throgmorton now (and not till now) tells me that he did above a month since acquaint the Princess Royal that, when he was in England, the Lord Monsel<sup>a</sup> wished him to advertise the K. that Mr W<sup>m</sup> Pierrepont,<sup>b</sup> the Parliament man, being now out of favour with the present rulers in England and desirous to get in with the K.'s party, did tell him that himself was privy to a secret agreement with the Spanish Ambassador that, if ever the K. came into any of his master's dominions, his Majesty should be made sure.

That juggling Cardinal will not suffer the K. of France to do any good for the K. ; and I may tell you I very much apprehend that the design of that Cardinal is (and I pray God some in the Louvre do not concur in it) to keep the K. still a pensioner of France.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

14 Octob.

I am very glad to hear that you have of late had such free communication with Sir Ed. Hyde of all affairs.

I hear no more of Lord Stafford but that he continues still a prisoner where he was, and that, because the proofs against him are found short and doubtfull, that the case is sent to the two universities there to know their opinion thereon ; and it is said that the

<sup>a</sup> There seems to have been no peerage of this title at the time. Perhaps Sir Richard Minshull, of Bourton, co. Bucks, is meant, who is said to have been created Baron Minshull of Minshull, co. Chester, 1 Dec. 1641, and Viscount Minshull of Leominster, 4 Jan. 1642, though the patents were never enrolled (Ormerod, *Cheshire*, iii. p. 181). Courthope (*Historic Peerage*, p. 322) calls him John Minshull, and Lipscomb (*Bucks*, ii. p. 588) styles him Baron Minshull of Oundle, co. Northt. He compounded for his estates at £1,378, and survived until 1667.

<sup>b</sup> Second son of Robert, 1st Earl of Kingston, M.P. for Much Wenlock, co. Salop, in the Long Parliament.

Prince Elector is very far from being inclined to save that Lord, which is all I know more of it.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

$\frac{14}{24}$  Octob.

The Queen of Bohemia hath sent the K.'s letter to the Elector of Brandenburg, with intimation as you desired.

It is very true, as the Dutch Ambassador in France intimated to the K., that not only the people but even the States themselves have of late much better inclinations for his Majesty than they had; and I am by all my friends here assured that, if the French K. and Council have (as you seem to believe) real intentions to make such a league with these States as you mention, it will be here very readily and cordially embraced. And it is believed that the K. of Denmark and, it is probable, the Queen of Swede and other princes also will come into such a league, so as the K. our master be taken in, whose interest by his party in England will (as it is generally believed) be of much greater consideration than is yet here imagined, when once such a union shall be made against that cursed crew of rebels.

There begin now to be great jealousies among the States of the Provinces of Holland. A credible person assures me that very lately Myn Heer Merman<sup>a</sup> of Delft (being one of the States General that hath been most disaffected to the Prince of Orange and to the K.'s affairs) told him in great confidence that there were here many traitors amongst them, for he said some held intelligence with the English, others with Spain, and some with both, so as these countries, he said, were betrayed on all sides. These States are now very inquisitive who of the English are suspected to hold intelligence with those in England, and say that there are many entrusted by the K. and about the young Princess of Orange that

<sup>a</sup> Frans Meerman, Burgomaster of Delft in 1637, and Member of the States-General in 1646. He was son of Dirk Meerman, who was Ambassador to England in 1613.

they have notice to be no better than intelligencers for the rebels of England.

There is one Mr. Malcome Smith arrived in these parts, being sent expressly to the K. by the Lord of Clangarry<sup>a</sup> and the association of the Highlanders in Scotland. He saith that there are there associated the said Lord, who is General of that association, the Laird of Langhebert, Sir James Macdonnel, the Froissards (only the Chief excepted, who is well affected also), the Lairds of Macklen, Macloud and the Chief of Clanrannels and many others, every one of which is able to raise, and have undertaken for, 1000 men apiece; that many others have likewise subscribed for raising of some 2, 3 or 400 men apiece. They desire only some commissions and letters of encouragement from the King to the Lord Clangarry and the rest of the association, and some small vessels to attend that coast . . . some small field pieces, some fire locks, powder, shot and some few horse, if it might be possible, and that Lt. Gen. Middleton may be sent to them.

Sir Ed. Nicholas's [son?] arrived that week with a letter from Mr. Hen. Seymour to Sir Ed. Hyde, Mr. Seymour being then at liberty only on his parole, there having been not long since an information given to the Council of State in England that he is employed there by the K. Whereupon he had been sent for by a messenger out of the country, if he had not, upon notice of it from a friend, presently gone to that Council to vindicate himself. But yet such credit is given to the information against him, which he believes proceeds from your good friend honest Sir Henry Wood.

This misfortune fallen so unluckily upon Mr. H. Seymour hath

<sup>a</sup> Æneas Macdonell, Laird of Glengarry, cr. Lord Macdonell and Arran in 1660. He was appointed one of the Commissioners for the management of the Royalist forces in Scotland until the arrival of Middleton, 30 Dec. 1652 (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* ii. p. 165). "Honest and stout, but neither a soldier nor a wise man, nor indeed a man of interest," Hyde to Nicholas, 7 Dec. 1652 (*Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 122).



so retarded his business for the K. as that he shall not be able to get any money for the K. till Christmas, and much less than he expected.

It is observed by all that know L<sup>d</sup> Culpepper that he hath been not only unfortunate in most of his counsels but incompatible in business and very unacceptable (to say no otherwise) to most that have had any intimacy or conversation with him in affairs of moment.

If the Lord Jermyn had not before recommended so worthy persons to be employed Embassadors to the Eastern Princes, I shall have advised him to have propounded the sending Sir Ed. Hyde rather to the Mogol or Emperor of Persia than to the K. of Denmark; whereby he might have been sure to have removed him far enough (for a good while) from his Majesty's councils.

You may remember that some of the unhappy counsels given by L<sup>d</sup> Culpepper were:—To pass the bill for putting the Bishops out of the Parliament house; the siege of Gloucester; the message of the 12<sup>th</sup> of May, 1647, sent to [from?] Holdenby; his Lordship's counsels and activity in all business at the K.'s being in the fleet in the Downs. You best of any know of what incompatible behaviour he is in business by your experience in the West and in Jersey, &c.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

31 Octob.

I am very glad that you and Sir Ed. Hyde are now so free to each other; and tho' honest men may misunderstand one another, yet they are easily reconciled while they keep to their principles. I marvel that Mr. Attorney should dislike your kindness to Sir Ed. Hyde, since Mr. Attorney professeth much friendship to him. Indeed, I have heard others as well as you complain that Mr. Attorney is of a very uneasy conversation.

Sir Cecil Howard <sup>a</sup> in a duel on Friday last killed one Mr. Nelson,

<sup>a</sup> Third son of Lord Howard of Escrick (see above, p. 15).

a very gallant gentleman, servant to the Q. of Bohemia. They fought with seconds in the park, and at the first pass Sir Cecil ran Mr. Nelson into the heart.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

2 $\frac{1}{2}$  Octo.

I hear Sir Tho. Gardiner is much weakened by an apoplexy which he hath had and which hath very much disabled him, so as the K.'s engagement to him upon the Queen's recommendation is taken off, which will make the way the smoother for your dear friend Mr. Attorney. I am told your friend Mr. Whitelocke<sup>a</sup> is as mischievous to the K. and all his friends in England as any among the pack of rebels.

The Gazetter at Paris (who was Augier's<sup>b</sup> man) hath lately written a letter to an honest man here, reproaching and blaming him for having here printed and published a book called *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad cælum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos*,<sup>c</sup> and dedicated to his Majesty by the title of K. of Great Britain, for that it speaks truths against (as he says) the Republic of England and particularly that arch-traytor and declared enemy to monarchy Milton.

I have herein sent you what I lately received from a singular good hand in England, having at my own charge gotten an honest and intelligent man to send me intelligence for six months.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

7 Nov., N.S.

Sir Alexander Hume<sup>d</sup> and I have very much conversation together, and I assure you I like him very well, though some others do not ; and, if you advise him to communicate freely with me, it

<sup>a</sup> Bulstrode Whitelocke, Commissioner of the Great Seal, and Member of the Council of State.

<sup>b</sup> René Augier, Parliamentary Agent at Paris.

<sup>c</sup> Printed at the Hague by A. Ulac in [Aug.] 1652; reputed to be written by Alexander Morus (Masson, *Life of Milton*, iv. p. 453).

<sup>d</sup> Chamberlain to the Princess of Orange.

will be the better, and I shall acknowledge it as a favour, for I find him a very discreet sober man.

One of the States General, with whom I converse and who is most absolutely his Majesty's servant, assures me that their Ambassador in Sweden doth affirm that the Queen of Sweden and old Oxenstiern . . . are extremely disaffected to the K.

TO MR. SMITH [LORD HATTON].

$\frac{4}{14}$  Nov.

It seems to me very strange news that Mr. Attorney should so sedulously apply himself to Lord Jermyn and his faction there. . . . But, if it be true, as you tell me, that Mr. Attorney is become so very intimate with Sir John Berkley (of whom he, I am sure, had as ill an opinion as it is possible for one to have of another), I shall think the worse of your French air which is able to corrupt so sound and well composed a constitution as I took Mr. Attorney to have.

I hear that the Qu. of Sweden is much disaffected to the K. and that she hath lately sent to Salmasius to forbear writing a reply to Milton's book which he wrote against Salmasius.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

$\frac{4}{14}$  Novemb.

I am very sorry that a person of the Bp. of Derry's calling should abuse his function so much as to busy himself with such affairs as it seems by yours he pretends to.

I find by your tutor [Sir Ed. Nicholas's son] that your friend Whitelocke is a most mischievous villain against the K. and all good men ; that Sir Orlando Bridgeman is not much trusted by the thorough paced Loyalists, but the Presbyterians are more confident of him and he is most intimate with my old friend J. A[shburnham], who, in all the time of your tutor's being in England, did not offer him any courtesy, but gave him many good words, acknowledging great obligations to me and making great professions of kindness.

I hear that the Qu. of Sweden hath sent to Salmasius to forbear to reply to Milton's base book. . . . I have it from an intelligent person and a great confident of Salmasius. It is most certain that the Qu. of Sweden is of late much inclined to the rebels of England and against the K., which some say is because she, having declared a successor, despairs of ever having the K. for her husband. And others say that this averseness to the K. hath been wrought by some ill Scotsmen there and by means of old Oxensterne.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

11 Novemb.

I am clearly of Mons<sup>r</sup> Boreel's<sup>a</sup> opinion that the old Princess of Orange is very much too high and very hard to be pleased; and I have, I conceive, reason to believe so, having been an eye-witness of her uncomely carriage towards the young Princess of Orange, when I once happen'd to be present at their accidental meeting at the Queen of Bohemia's above a month since.

I humbly thank you for your care of my request to the K. and D. of York on behalf of my son Ned. If that employment [of receiving the fifths of the prizes] had not been disposed of to others before my letter came, I am confident my son would have therein done very good and faithfull service. And indeed I cannot marvel enough why the Bp. of Derry should covet so improper a province. Methinks he should rather have desired to have been Lord Keeper, for which there is a precedent; whereas I believe he is the first Bp. that ever busied himself with such a maritime employment, and I doubt that some who wish not well to the K. and Church of England have put his Lordship upon it, that they may speak the louder against both. I thought that, for the Marquis of Ormonde's sake, that Bp. would have paid you more respect than it seems he did lately; and I believe he is the only person of his function that would so unjustly have uttered such words of you, who have ever had so great a reverence for all churchmen.

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Boreel, Dutch Ambassador at Paris; cr. a Bart. in 1644, when on an embassy to England.

The Earl of Crawford died this week here of an ague and fever; and Sir Rob. Mansel and Sir Tho. Gardiner are dead in England.

I pray [let it] be not known to any but the K. that I send you, or have, any intelligence at all from England; for I am credibly assured you have there very many near the K. and Queen that send frequent intelligence of all things to Westminster.

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

$\frac{17}{27}$  9bris, 1652.

Lieut. Generall Middleton told me att the Hague that he had acquainted the King that he was credibly tould in England that the dispatch which was sent by the Duke of Yorke when the King was at Worcester touching some rising that should be endeavoured in Kent was advertised by the same person that made or wrote it and sent with so much dilligence to the Rebels as they had it before the Dukes dispatch came to the King.

*In the hand of Nicholas, partly in shorthand.* \*

\*

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

$\frac{18}{28}$  Nov. [1652].

Beverward<sup>a</sup> hath a great wit, but his malice to the Princess Dowager and her family far exceeds his affection to the Princess Royal. . . .

Glengarry will not take it well that any man be put to have a superior command to him in the Highlands, he having with his party and friends kept it so bravely hitherto against all the forces of the rebels of England.

<sup>a</sup> Louis of Nassau, Heer van Beverweerd, etc., natural son of Prince Maurice; a staunch adherent of William II. Prince of Orange.



The States are at present much alarm'd and awaken'd, discerning more clearly their danger than ever, if they shall not forthwith make a league with other States or princes.

We have here a strong report that the D. of Lorrain hath lately used very unkindly and disrespectfully his Duchess in Flanders, having upon causeless suspicion broken open her cabinet to seek for jewels, which he was informed she had disposed, and, finding all safe there as he left them, was much astonished and ashamed of what he had done.

Sir W<sup>m</sup> Macdowell appears, methinks, every day more than other unskilful in his charge and opiniastre in his ways. He is much subject to the imperfection of many of his nation, to tell strange stories of his own actions and to arrogate to himself as much as the fly on the chariot wheel ever did.

Your friend Lieut. Gen. Middleton came a day since hither. He is still very weak after his sickness. He seems to be indeed a very modest and discreet person, such as I have not yet met with [of] his nation.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

5 Decemb., N.S.

I doubt the E. of Norwich is futile.

I believe that Mr. Attorney Herbert will and doth endeavour that all those he hath credit with may not think well of you or me, or of any other who have other thoughts or opinions than he would have us. He will be a rare President of the Council for you when he shall have the custody of the Great Seal. When that happy time shall be, you may do as you please, but I am resolved for quietness sake to be of his opinion (if he can but tell me what it is), be it right or wrong; and so must the K. be also by his leave, or else he shall have little quiet . . . .

Those in England have sent one Bradshaw,<sup>a</sup> who is their agent

<sup>a</sup> Richard Bradshaw (see the proceedings of the Council of State, 22 Oct. 1652, *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 452).

at Hamburg, as an envoy into Denmark to prepare the way for an ambassador to be received there, and to solicit the releas of the English Merchants ships in the Sound.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

$\frac{3}{12}$  Decem.

Conceives it unseasonable to propose anything to the States for supply of Scotland.

It is now evident to all men that the rogue Lilburne was banish'd England merely to gain him credit and trust on this side.

Sends a print of Mr. Jos. Jane touching the interest of these countries in the restitution of the K.

I presume you have from Dr. Morley the fearful condition of Col. Leighton, which may be a terror to all the witty atheists of your acquaintance there who scoff at religion and call conscience a bugbear.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

$\frac{9}{15}$  Decemb.

Ld. Culpepper declares for the K.'s coming to Holland.

I have cause to suspect that Mr. Attorney is not only unkind to me himself, but that he hath alienated the Ld. Gerard from me, who was my kind friend ; and I believe, if the truth were known, they are both the less my friends for your sake. If you now find (as you say) that Mr. Attorney doth much hurt there, you may then imagine what mischief he will do when he shall have more power.

TO SIR ED. HYDE.

$\frac{14}{16}$  Decem.

Sir W. Macdowel takes pains that the States may send some supply to Scotland.

L<sup>d</sup> Culpepper design'd by some both in France and Holland to be the K.'s great and sole minister in Holland.

I now hear Col. Leighton hath recovered his health and his wits  
CAMD. SOC. 2 T

again; but as for his religion I do not understand that it is either better or worse than it ever was.

TO LORD WILMOT, ALIAS E. OF ROCHESTER. 31 Decem. [1652].

His Majesty could not have honoured me with any command more agreeable to my own inclinations and affections than that I have lately received from him, to correspond with your Ldp. concerning affairs here and in England.

Six of the Provinces are very well inclined for taking in the K.'s interest; and many of the Province of Holland wish it also. But there are about 10 principal persons in Holland who mainly oppose it and most things that concern either the K. our Master or the Prince of Orange.

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